Artists and Revolution
Dada and the Bauhaus, 1917-1925

Allan C. Greenberg



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by
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ILLUSTRATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

BASB	Bauhaus-Ausstellung (Bauhaus Exhibit) Scrapbook, Summer, 1923.
BD	Bauhaus Archive, Darmstadt [now:Berlin].
FP	The Papers of Lyonel Feininger.
SB	Scrapbook, refers to the books of clippings in the Bauhaus Archive.
SG	Gropius Collection (Sammlung Gropius), in the Bauhaus Archive.
STAW	State Archive, Weimar (Staatsarchiv Weimar).
St. B'haus	State Bauhaus (Staatliches Bauhaus).
temp.	Temporary—the collection was being re-indexed in the Spring of 1966; the former numbers will remain on file, with their new counterparts.

NOTE

Three terms, more than any other, are essential to this study. They are here defined in terms of the results of various sociological studies. It has been deemed necessary to do so, in that the terms are often used in general historical works, but rarely with any definite meaning. Giving them a meaning that is sociological does not turn them into jargon, nor are they to be so considered; rather, it makes the terms meaningful and useful. These terms are *"values," "norms,"* and *"culture."*

Let us understand *"values"* in the most general sense as "modes of . . . orientation of action in a social system which define the main directions of actions without reference to specific goals [and] the commitments of individual persons to pursue and support certain *directions* or types of action for the collectivity as a system . . ." (see Talcott Parsons, *Structure and Process in Modern Societies* [Glencoe, Illinois, 1960] pp. 171-172; in addition, "values" shall be treated as general standards of behavior, ideals, and bases for making choices between alternative ways of acting and of juding intentions and actions (see Harry M. Johnson, *Sociology: A Systematic Introduction* [New York-Burlingame, 1960], p. 50), and "the most general statements of legitimate ends [ends that are generally shared by the members of society] which guide social action" (Neil J. Smelser, *Theory of Collective Behavior* [New York, 1963], p. 25).

"Norms" shall be understood as "abstract pattern[s], held in the mind, that [set] certain limits for behavior . . . 'operative' [norms are] not merely entertained in the mind but [are] considered worthy of following in actual behavior" (Johnson, *Sociology,* p. 8); "operative norms" are sanctioned by society, with rewards and penalties following compliance and non-compliance, respectively (Johnson, *Sociology,* p. 50); "norms" are more specific than "values" and entail *what ought to be done* (at an analytical level lower than that of "values").

"Culture," very generally, shall be understood as an abstract construct encompassing "norms" and "values" as above defined, among other elements, and forming "that [explicit and implicit] complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and other capabilities acquired by man [and shared with others] as a member of society [system of social interaction]" (Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture* [1924], p. 1, quoted in Johnson, *Sociology,* p. 10—also see pp, 82-95).

PREFACE

The first decades of the twentieth century comprise an exciting period in intellectual and cultural history. Especially after World War I, the arts—painting, drawing, graphics, sculpture, architecture, literature, the theatre, music—flourished, not only in Germany, but in every European country, the Soviet Union, and the United States. Artists became increasingly concerned with their relationships to their social and political environment. Especially in Germany, where, under the Weimar Republic, efforts were being made to realize a transition from a traditional monarchical society to a democratic society, many artists freely decided to participate in the social and political transformation. It is true that artists were at least as active in the Soviet Union, but their one role possibility—later to be made *the only* role—was defined for them by the Communist Party (Bolsheviks); moreover, in the Soviet Union there was a relatively clearly defined goal that presented a guide for action. In Germany, the artists had to define both roles and goals.

By studying the views of artists with reference to social and political affairs, in contrast to those of the more often studied intellectuals and scholarly politicians, it may be possible to gain a different, and perhaps deeper and more individually relevant, understanding of the period under consideration. One might expect artists, by virtue of their training, abilities, and proclivities, to have unique insights into the world around them. Moreover, their relationships to society differ from those of politicians, who are concerned with electoral support, and scholars, who are usually less concerned with the world around them, outside of books, than either politicians or artists. The problem of communication for the artist, often more candid and less affected than intellectuals, politicians, and scholars, is in some senses less difficult to solve than for the others, what with public museums and art galleries, public performances, and publication in periodicals less forbidding than those under the aegis of the academic world; but the artist's success in communicating rests to a significant degree with the receptivity of his audience, and this is often more limited than for individuals in the other categories. Nevertheless, artists (and art groups) present a valuable focus to those seeking to analyze the society and the age in which the artists played a part, almost regardless of how they conceived the role that they did play, or precisely because of how they conceived that role. The naiveté of artists in dealing with subjects generally regarded to be the provinces of specialists may often mean the stripping away of excess verbiage and conditional phraseology that can be a hindrance when action rather than theory, life rather than system and order, is the question.

The period 1917 to 1925 was in part determined by the chronology of the two art groups that form the subject of this study. The Dadaist movement

began in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1916; the Berlin Dadaist group formed in 1917, and was active until about 1921. The State Bauhaus was founded in 1919 in Weimar, in the state *(Land)* of Thuringia, and in 1925 it was forced, primarily for political and economic reasons, to move from Weimar to Dessau. More importantly, the years were crucial ones for Germany and, ultimately, for the world. As World War I neared its end, social and political unrest began to reach a significant level, at least in the large German cities; in November, 1918, there occurred what is referred to as the German Revolution. Confronted during and after the war with the proposals of the Allied nations, Germany sought to establish a republican and democratic government, the form deemed necessary by and acceptable to her opponents and conquerors. Although there seems to have been a significant degree of awareness on the part of many Germans as to what had to be done, the half-hearted and ineffectual efforts that were made ultimately failed. The major national political act that indicated this failure was the election in 1925 of Field Marshall Paul von Hindenburg to the Presidency of the Weimar Republic. Thus, the time limits of this study may be justified both in terms of the art groups under consideration and the political events with which those groups were in some way concerned.

This study is of individuals, groups, and movements, and the interaction between them, that is, between the individuals and the group or movement in which they played a part, and society. This is not a series of juxtaposed biographies, except to the extent necessary for analytical purposes, if for no other reason than that significant biographical materials are not available in sufficient quantity. Methodologically, an effort has been made to combine the various perspectives open to the historian. A major limitation is imposed by the lack of studies in other relevant disciplines on topics that would have been pertinent to this study. Nevertheless, the other disciplines have much to offer the historian who is studying social, political, and cultural change.

Many debts of gratitude have been incurred during the course of this study. A number of individuals in Germany allowed me to browse through private collections of art, archival materials, and books, and answered many uncertain questions with patience and understanding: among these are Frau Hannah Höch, a peripheral member of the Berlin Dada group in the early twenties; Herr Gerhard Ströch; Frau Clare Jung, widow of the writer Franz Jung, Frau Annegret Janda, and Herr Ludwig Lazarus. Sincere appreciation must be extended to the staffs of the Bauhaus Archive in Darmstadt (now in Berlin), the Schiller National Museum in Marbach on the Neckar, the State Archive in Weimar, the German Library in Leipzig, and the Acquisitions and Reference Departments of the University of Illinois Library. Mention should also be made of the financial aid extended by the University of Illinois and the Department of History that made possible a trip to Germany, and a follow-up trip, and enabled me to devote two years to the researching and writing of this study. Special thanks

must be extended to: Hans M. Wingler, Director of the Bauhaus Archive, for his many fruitful suggestions and the stimulating conversations he found time for in the midst of a very busy schedule; my friends Myron Weinstein and Jon Heggan, who uncomplainingly listened to tales about the problems of the artists in Germany and made many critical suggestions concerning the approach to this study; a fellow student of the Bauhaus, Marcel Franciscono, Instructor in Art History at the University of Illinois, whose dissertation is on "The Inception and Immediate Background of the Bauhaus in Weimar"; and Professor J. Alden Nichols, without whose friendship and readiness to discuss problems of an enormously varied nature and without whose early encouragement this dissertation would never have been a consideration.

And to my parents: I am grateful.

CHAPTER I

ARTISTS PREPARE FOR AN UPRISING

In Germany during the nineteenth century, action, certainty, and consensus under authority triumphed over contemplation, ambiguity, and decisions arrived at through discussion and compromise. The two most evident contrasts were the fiasco of an attempt at orderly, idealistic revolution from above, 1848 to 1851, and the success of national unification from above, through military action, completed in 1871. The revolution of the professional bourgeoisie involved an unsuccessful effort to transform the political system from monarchical "constitutionalism," introduced on the basis of a model established by the French Emperor Napoleon I, to constitutional monarchy. This challenge was met successfully and defeated by the certainty and authority of monarchy and the Prussian aristocratic tradition. National unification of Germany under Prussia marked the success of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck's acknowledgment of and understanding for the political reality of power. Certainty and authority, indicative of confidence and propriety of action in the light of a transcendental ideal, be it God, a system of ethics, or whatever, proved superior in the above events to liberty in the ideal, Western sense. These same qualities, somewhat exaggerated, compensated for the uncertainty and ineffectuality of leadership that existed for Germany on both domestic and international planes after the departure of Bismarck from the Government. The experience of late national unification and of a geographically restrictive and potentially dangerous position put Germany on the defensive: she felt threatened, and in defensive response created a threat to other European nations. While Germany developed as an international power, Bismarck's practice of accommodation was replaced by a disdain for both international cooperation and accommodation. A situation of uncertainty was created that, in light of the constant quest for security, had to be rectified. Interaction alone could accomplish the necessary task; with cooperation precluded as one form of interaction, and a prevailing belief in the superiority of the German nation, conflict in a colonial, economic, military, cultural, or total sense virtually had to occur.

Responding to the problems created by national unification, industrialization, and the public person of William II, especially between 1900 and 1914, the intellectual and artistic community in Germany revealed an increasingly widespread concern with politics, society, and the cultural values and norms underlying both. Exceptional and rapid industrialization had telescoped the difficulties associated with that process. Among those were problems of social injustice in a time of increasing wealth, feelings of individual political powerlessness in a time of spreading democracy and growing organizations, dissatisfaction

and perceived or imagined impotency of man in the face of technological, scientific, and academic specialization, and the decay of strong personal bonds and family life. With the enumerated problems came a fundamental one social-psychological in nature: the alienation of man both from society and from himself.[1] Such were dilemmas that were not specific to Germany, but were among the growing pains of modern, industrial societies. In response came a correspondingly increasing concern with the search for answers. And in Germany, as in many other countries, the government was unable to keep pace with the problems. Traditional authoritarian government with its facade of constitutionality, traditional society with its class, though virtually caste, structure dominated by the landed Junker aristocracy and perpetuated by the Prussian three-class suffrage,[2] and traditional cultural values, focused upon authority, duty, and freedom under the law, together formed an old garment that was being rent by the changing economy and a radically changing intellectual climate. Old structures coupled with a major challenge to their viability resulted in a virtual elimination of possibilities for change within the existing system. Channels for reform were essentially closed, the only possibility remaining for change to occur being through revolution, as a rapid and total social, political, and cultural transformation, overthrowing those values basic to a system that, by its nature, tended to exclude reforms in response to popular will.

A number of complications were added in the two decades preceding World War I to a situation sufficiently demanding of changes before 1890. Unified Germany was a hothouse creation. Political institutions of an imperial nature had been superimposed upon many distinct states *(Länder)*, but did little to overcome basic differences. To protect and nurture something that is growing, and then to set it on its own, or to change the gardener for one who sees only the results of care, and not the means employed—whatever the reason—is to open the possibility for disaster. The beginning was made when Otto von Bismarck was called to head the Prussian Ministry in September, 1862, in order to cope with a military crisis; from then until 1890 Bismarck initiated, controlled, or took advantage of virtually every crisis that developed in which Prussia or Germany might have a significant interest. After 1890, crises were still initiated, but the controlling hand was gone. In international affairs, the Bismarckian arbiter of Europe, a position of relative security and tenability, gave way to Wilhelmine hopes of becoming not only arbiter, but "Imperator mundi." Crises throughout the still European-dominated world exacerbated efforts to maintain a position of security: the Three Emperors' Alliance of Austria, Russia, and Germany was not renewed and created the opening for a Franco-Russian alliance; relations with England were strained by the Kruger Telegram, sent during the Boer War, by the *Daily Telegraph* interview of William II, and the construction of a "Risk Fleet"; many nations were antagonized by Germany's roles in Turkey, in the Boxer Rebellion, and in the Moroccan crises.

Confidence to the point of overweening pride increased as quickly as had Germany's industry, and the latter provided the rationalizations for all to which the former gave impetus. Perhaps the most vital factor in German foreign policy hinged upon perception, perception of the self in the world: had another nation been in the position of Germany, Germany would have regarded her with a leery eye and would have been afraid to allow leeway for the full development of her potential, attempting to circumscribe those efforts. Because she would have viewed another nation in this way, so Germany assumed that others viewed her, and she overreacted, intent upon triumphing against all opposition.

Domestically, Germany was perhaps the least politically educated of the great Western Powers. At no time had the German people become responsibly and critically involved, to any significant degree, in the political life of the nation, nor had there been any time when such participation would have been sincerely invited or allowed by the holders of power. Superficially, there existed both a constitution and a parliament in Germany. Power resided in the upper echelons of the government, and for parliament there existed the right to make noise: however uncertain might the meaning of parliamentary government have been before 1870, after forty years of Bismarck's constitution the concept of parliamentary government had virtually disappeared.[3] The overtly far-sighted social welfare policy of Germany became a model for Western European nations, but without the latter being (entirely) devoted to the German aims of effectively emasculating labor unions and Socialist Party efforts to unite workers into a significant political force.[4]

Germany's major greatness was in the show of power to the world and her unity in the pursuit of mundane concerns. Germany's major weakness was a dualism that pervaded her existence: this basic cultural reality had its roots in the actions and personality of Martin Luther, and was carried to its fullest expression by Immanuel Kant, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel.[5] German freedom existed only in the sphere of thought; it was an idealistic freedom, distinct from rather than subordinate to action. Luther's efforts won spiritual independence for Germans, independence of an otherworldly nature that formed the foundation for such movements as Pietism and various other representations of mysticism and idealism. At the same time, responding to the Peasants' Uprising, Luther advocated the propriety of subordination to secular authorities in political affairs, a this-worldly subjection of the individual and irresponsible, unknowledgeable relationships in the world of action. The triumph of might over right was justified by a complete distinction of the spheres of politics, on the one hand, and ethics and morals, on the other. Thus, the contrary ideals of freedom, order, and duty were temporarily harmonized. This tenuous harmony was undermined as contrasts were increasingly ossified and emphasized, accompanying Germany's development as an industrialized world power and the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries' changes

in the humanities and the sciences. Subsequently, a quest for transcendent values, a quest for security in the face of insecurity, gained prominence.[6] Dualism had to be transcended: recognizing some of the difficulties involved, men concerned with the arts sought, in a very self-conscious way, to communicate and interact with society.

With an increasing embourgeoisement of society and a decreasing system of patronage, many artists and writers became more involved with the public and its problems, as they sought audiences and support for their work. Social involvement was accompanied by an active quest on the part of artist-intellectuals[7] to help initiate cultural change. Accordingly, they directed much of their activity to bridging the gap that existed between them and society. The German artist-intellectuals, in agreement with a generally widespread attitude in Western Europe, England, and the United States, were intensely concerned with the materialism they perceived as a dominant value in their country. They became concerned with the aggressive drives for domination accompanying materialism, and the concomitant lack of concern for social justice. Visions they conjured up exaggerated the de-humanizing effects of materialism, nationalism, international exploitation, and militarism, and began to have an increasing influence upon their work. The artist-intellectuals became anxious about the incongruities developing in their society—properly and improperly perceived, understood and, more often, misunderstood—and about the problem of alienation. It was not merely an overdeveloped sense of humanity that caused the artists to react to the disquietingly evolving situation, but also the effects of the latter upon them.[8]

Before World War I, two major, though by no means mutually exclusive, artistic directions became dominant. One was the inception and growth of Expressionism as a concern with the inner being of man.[9] The other was the founding of the Werkbund, basically an organization of architects whose concern was to effect among architects and artists an attitude of cooperation regarding art and industry.[10] In addition to more specific concerns, the conviction that a revolution in values was necessary enhanced the attractiveness of these movements for the socially concerned artist-intellectuals. Such a revolution involving the arts would complement that already underway in the sciences, which was directed at the problems of positivism, determinacy, absolutes, and psychology. Although the first "official" groups of artists in Germany seeking to participate in the realization of the aims of revolution did not close ranks until November, 1918, after the outbreak of revolution, the artists had already made their intentions evident.

Late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth centuries, *Jugendstil*, the German equivalent of Art Nouveau—the art of the "expressive line"[11]—was a dominant style in Germany. Involvement with both the *Jugendstil* movement and the new architectural aims brought the Belgian Henry van de Velde to the

forefront of German architecture and art education. Already in the 1890's van de Velde had shown sympathy for and an understanding of the tenets that were to guide the Werkbund. In 1903 he was called to Weimar, where he founded a School of Applied Arts and sought to intensify relations between this school and the Academy of Fine Arts in an effort to reintegrate the ideal with the real, the idea with the deed. This effort was to be realized in the initial sense of uniting the two schools when the architect Walter Gropius succeeded van de Velde in Weimar after the war,[12] bringing with him the conception in art education advocated by the Werkbund. At the same time that van de Velde was called to Weimar, the art of the expressive line began to give way before an art of total expression, that involved form and color. An increased human and social awareness, akin to that of the Werkbund members, accompanied the new art of Expressionism.[13] Together, *Jugendstil* and Expressionism have been characterized as "manifestations of youthful force and freshness, a liberation from historicism [as a concern with facts and objectivity] and the staleness of the academy—movements for the renovation of art."[14] To clarify and complete this statement, it might be added that the two movements presented new approaches to the world in its totality and in specifics, and opposed the exclusive concept of "art for art's sake." Precedence was now given art for humanity's sake, or for the sake of some transcendental cause.

Within the Expressionist movement, two art groups played roles of special importance in the years before the war. Both "The Bridge" *(Die Brücke)*, begun by Ernst Ludwig Kirchner in 1905, and "The Blue Rider" *(Der Blaue Reiter)*, begun by Wassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc and holding its first exhibit in 1911, solidified and increased the dimensions of Expressionist art. For "The Bridge," passion and commitment to the abstract concept of humanity and to creative freedom stimulated a search for intuitive expression. The search was made as a group, and the members' communal achievement is evident in the woodcut style they developed during the years from 1905 to 1912. The men of the group lived together, worked together, and were at one in their scorn for "the bigoted and philistine bourgeoisie, solidified in its biased tradition."[15] "The Blue Rider" was much more loosely organized, being hardly more than the almanac of that name edited by Kandinsky and Marc. It was Kandinsky who took the intellectual lead, after having completed his pace-setting book for non-objective art that was to be published in 1912, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art.* In quest of multiformity of expression, the group gave an intimation of what might be achieved under the concept of unity and multiplicity: the participants were unified in their concern with the fullest possible self-expression of the artist, which meant the least possible restrictions on form and content. Also there seemed to be always in evidence the feeling or belief that either beyond or deep within man there existed a basis for his relationship to other men and to the cosmos, a necessity for communication and understanding between

individuals. "The Bridge," "The Blue Rider," and the Expressionist movement in general evidenced intense concern with the world that is man or that is within man, in contrast to the world around man.[16] Now the danger threatened that the overemphasis on the objective and the analytical of the preceding era would be succeeded by an overemphasis on the subjective and synthetic, neither of which alone is able to form the basis for effective, meaningful transformations of man, society, and values.[17]

Numerous tribunes for the artist-intellectuals existed during the lifetime of Expressionism. Periodicals flourished, one or more representing almost every socio-politico-cultural tendency.[18] Ideological grounds for unity existed among many, but were insufficient to overcome the factors opposing unity. Resistance to agreement through compromise on minor points was rooted in loyalties to world-views or all-encompassing ideologies,[19] and a generally intense desire of adherents to maintain maximum individuality, except for what had necessarily to be surrendered in the forming of a small circle around a specific periodical.[20] Such posturing meant the polemical pursuit of antagonisms that would ultimately prove self-destructive. During the period from about 1910 to 1920, two periodicals did stand out amid the chaos of artistic-literary factionalism, prevalent especially in Berlin: *The Storm* of Herwarth Walden and *The Action* of Franz Pfemfert.[21]

In 1910, Herwarth Walden established the Storm Publishing House and began the bright first half of *The Storm*'s life as a voice of young artists and writers. In 1912, the art gallery "The Storm" was opened and complemented Walden's publishing activities. The first "Storm" exhibition, dedicated to Futurism as a new, dynamic impressionist form for the industrial age, gave flight to an age of Isms and manifestoes in Germany;[22] in the new gallery, the young Expressionists began to introduce to the public a new way of interpreting the world. Subsequently, a school for all the arts was opened by Walden (in 1916) and a new magazine, *The Storm-Theatre,* was brought out (1917). Walden's efforts were instrumental for the creation in Berlin of a center for the European avant-garde.[23] *The Storm,* a periodical for "Culture and Arts," devoted primarily to art and literature, often included essays dealing with the socio-cultural values of Germany, values that were questioned time and again during the two decades of the magazine's existence. In the first issue, an introductory programmatic note indicated dismay with the German intelligentsia, a "group" untouched by art and restricted in their freedom of movement and thought by the grave and academic way in which they viewed their scholarly tasks. Continuing in a moderately emotive tone, the author of the note asserted that "blind intellectualism does violence to reality" (in fact, intellectuals rarely considered reality as part of a totality including thought that would demand their going beyond the ideal realm of the mind). Cut off from reality and life by intricate systems of thought, "a ray of feeling will never illuminate" the

brains of the intelligentsia. "Well-tempered liberalism," meaningless in its temperateness, was the pose of the age, a pose that was easily and happily maintained in its virtual precluding of dissatisfaction and even concern with the human world.[24] Underlying the activities of Walden and the Storm group was the Expressionists' hope that words would become deeds, that through words and art the world would be changed.[25] The poverty of such hopes was to become emphatically evident in the years following the revolution in Germany.

Basic political aloofness assured *The Storm* of non-interference by the authorities, even during World War I. Such was not the case for the politically involved Franz Pfemfert and *The Action,* founded in 1911 with the subtitle *Weekly for Liberal Politics and Literature.*[26] Pfemfert hoped to establish a periodical of the "great German Left," representing no single political party. The pages of the periodical were devoted to the battle for new values and to affording the public an opportunity to assess new developments in art and literature which, having no immediate public appeal, were more often than not avoided by the "pseudo-liberal press." "*The Action* has the ambition to be an organ of honorable radicalism."[27] During the war, censorship action forced the periodical to be overtly apolitical, although previous advocacy of pacifism and revolution by the publisher and the group around him could not be concealed.[28] Partly in order to compensate for the wartime restrictions, Pfemfert published politically relevant books, something he had earlier been doing on a smaller scale, and brought out a collection of essays, poems, and prints. The concluding statement of the collection noted the editor's pessimism regarding any possible influence the book might have, insofar as there had been no reaction to three years of murder or to the writings that had preceded 1914; nevertheless, Pfemfert felt it his responsibility to do as much as he was able.[29] Along with every other editor who sought to achieve the same goal, Pfemfert failed in the quest to establish the organ of the German Left, attributable in great part to the divisiveness of ideological politics;[30] he subsequently concentrated his attention on increasingly radical political essays and polemics.

Such were the courses of two periodicals which were focal points for young, socially-aware artists, before and during the war. The enormous proliferation of periodicals and artistic and literary groups indicates to some extent the social involvement of the participants and the views that they held, or with which they were willing to be identified. Rifts were many, but there were also contacts between groups through the periodicals themselves, the evenings of readings and presentations sponsored by many of the periodicals and literary cabarets,[31] and the rather regular meetings that took place in the coffee houses of Berlin.[32] In these circles, the progressively-minded young German artist-intellectuals found confirmation and support for their beliefs concerning both art and society. Agreed in their opposition to extant cultural values, the values of the bourgeoisie and traditional German society, they developed an "anti-

power [anti-organization, anti-authority, and anti-discipline] complex,"[33] rooted in and enhanced by the subjectivism of Expressionism and the idealism of radical political activists. Hugo Ball, a key figure in the founding of the Dada movement in Zurich in 1916, wrote from Berlin towards the end of the first year of the war that there were many plans and much to do; all centered upon preventing "the systematization . . . of Germany. Everything called system, organization, character, etc., demands 'subordination.' In contrast, everything that is called art, freedom, [and] culture demands 'co-ordination' [cooperation]. Coexistence of possibilities, of individuals, of views. That is certainly clear!"[34] Unity in opposition did not present a basis for unity in action on behalf of something new. Positive, creative cooperation would have required leadership and discipline, a greater intensification of desire to escape from individual, social, and national isolation than had been evidenced in the past, and a more emphatic belief that the artist had an essential role to play in a transformation that would involve not only himself, but all Germans. Basically, what was necessary was the establishment of their own power complex.[35] For many of the artist-intellectuals involved, the World War proved to be the catalyst for the intensification and motivation requisite to action.

The ground was well prepared. By the time the war broke out, a large part of the artistic world, especially the youth, was of a social- and cultural-revolutionary frame of mind.[36] Participation in the war added to the revolutionary fervor that had so long been building up. To these young, intense men, the war, which was not theirs but in which many fought, seemed to restate and emphasize the trend of Expressionist thought, revealing "with cruel clarity the very conditions of life that gave rise to Expressionism and against which artists and writers had protested so vehemently."[37] Despair, violence, and suffering, telescoped as they are by war, made them more certain than ever that revolution had to come, and that afterwards it would be at least partly their responsibility to see that the conditions necessitating revolution did not reappear.[38]

Amid the literary activity that continued during the war years, involvement with the war, and accompanying domestic difficulties, the appearance of one new anthology and one new periodical could hardly have made much impression. The first, published in Zurich, was unlikely to have appeared in Germany at all during this period, if only because of wartime censorship, and it was the anthology *Cabaret Voltaire* that heralded the founding of the Dada movement early in 1916. The second, to avoid the war-time restriction against the founding of new periodicals, was published in Berlin as the continuation of a periodical that had been founded before the war, *New Youth (Neue Jugend)*, beginning in July, 1916, with Number 7, page 123.[39] Wieland Herzfelde, the young editor of the new magazine who initially remained anonymous, had returned from the war full of consternation and unable to forget the thoughts he had while at the front.

Hier stehe ich zu meiner Schand
mit einem Mordgewehr.
O Mädchen fern, lass meine Hand,
die Schuld macht sie zu schwer.

Wer ohne Not den Bruder schlägt,
erschlägt die eigne Ehr.
Ach, wessen Stirn das Kainsmal trägt,
kennt keine Spiele mehr.

Here I stand, to my disgrace
with a weapon of murder.
O distant girl, loose your hold on my hand,
the guilt makes it too heavy.

He who, without need, strikes his brother,
destroys his own honor.
Oh, he whose forehead bears the mark of Cain
knows no more games.[40]

In the Malik Publishing House that Wieland Herzfelde and his brother Helmuth, who expressed his displeasure with Imperial Germany initially by anglicizing his name to John Heartfield, established in the Spring of 1917, the Berlin Dadaists were to find their first focus and their first publication, a magazine of newspaper format with the old name of *New Youth* that succeeded the prohibited monthly of the same name.[41] Strictly speaking, this was not a Dadaist periodical, although among the authors were included the Dadaists Richard Huelsenbeck, newly returned to Berlin from Zurich, a medical student by profession and a litterateur by choice; Franz Jung, a free-lance author who was educated and knowledgeable in law and economics, and fluctuated politically between anarchism and Communism; George Grosz, artist, sometime poet, and a bitter social critic; and John Heartfield, politically concerned artist.[42] Raoul Hausmann, a philosopher and artist, Johannes Baader, architect by education and mystic by inclination, and Walter Mehring, scholar, song-writer, and cabaret performer, also core members of the Dada Club that had been formed in Berlin[43] and held its first Dada Evening on April 12, 1918, were not parties to the *New Youth* publications. At the time, it would have been difficult indeed to predict the ultimate forms that the reactions of these young men[44] to the war were to take. Although many of the early judgments on the war were favorable or only mildly critical,[45] the war was to prove the precipitating factor in determining the participation of artist-intellectuals in the German revolutionary movement. The war had already led to the founding of the Dada movement.

In February, 1916, the Café Voltaire was opened on the Spiegelgasse in Zurich. There the writer and essayist Hugo Ball, who in Munich had been friendly with some of the members of "The Blue Rider" and had worked for the Cabaret Gnu on the project of a new theatre as a base from which to effect social change, the painter and poet Hans Arp, and Richard Huelsenbeck, all

from Germany, together with two Rumanians, Tristan Tzara and Marcel Janco, inaugurated the Dada movement.[46] Agreed only in their opposition to the art and life of the times, the international group of artists and writers that gathered in the Cabaret Voltaire embodied ideals transcending those of war and fatherland.[47] There could be no respect for the machinery of war, hypocritical idealism, and the slaughter of human beings: the problem ahead was to persuade those who accepted such realities to challenge them.[48] Before such a challenge would be raised, there would have to be some agreement with Ball's summation, a corollary drawn from his specific considerations: "Everything is [still] functioning, except for man himself," and it was man himself who the Dadaists sought to arouse from his torpor.[49] Although the general revolt, for revolt it was, of the Dadaists in Zurich was rooted in reality, their concern was primarily devoted to art, aesthetics, and transcendental values. The attitudes they propounded were too general to be effective in stimulating social change, except to the degree that their attacks on the man of bourgeois mentality might eventually bring about a change in that mentality, a basic psychological change that would be reflected in the affairs of men. Protesting against the "stupidity and vanity of mankind," the Zurich Dadaists remained idealists (in the sense of the ideal as being separated from the real; Ball eventually tried to extricate himself from this situation), "dreamers . . . living in the catacombs with picture, word, and music."[50] Regardless of their intentions, the Zurich Dadaists failed to bridge the very real gap between the artist and society. Thus, the questions raised by the Dadaists could only be dealt with by the Dadaists, and only for themselves. Unheard went the challenge raised to man dominated by his ego and by an overestimation of his own reason.[51] This philistine demanded an art that would serve the established order in which he had an interest,[52] an art that produced ". . . deception, appearance, [and] artifice," rather than "pyramids, temples, [and] cathedrals."[53] An art postulating ideals and values might dispute the smug belief that man had already produced the best of all possible worlds, and might suggest that he in fact still had a long, hard road ahead. Although the Dadaists thought both the intellect that had developed the stultifying society of the day and the arid rationalism that had reached its obvious culmination in the irrationalism of war discredited, they were not about to discard reason, as had many of the Expressionists. The Dadaists located their hopes for the future in the tenuous gray area between the conscious and the unconscious, between reason and emotion, and between the mediated and the spontaneous, that was pregnant with possibilities for the future.[54]

With their artistic creations, the Dadaists[55] sought form and content rich in ambiguity. In 1916, Richard Huelsenbeck, compensating somewhat for questionable literary talents with desire, intensity, and surprise, completed a series of "Fantastic Prayers," from which he read in March at the Cabaret Voltaire. His later self-acknowledged intention was to achieve "human freedom

as an eternal, inviolable . . . right," and thereby to present a call for the total "creative personality."[56] It was not a quest to find an art form that would make sense to the bourgeois philistine, but to challenge him with the idea that artist-intellectuals acted out of the necessity of total being rather than opportunism.

Höher hinauf stieg alles alles versank in der Höhe
grosse Pupillen drehen sich rasselnd auf den Galerien aus Zedernholz
in meinem Atem wandern die Tannenbäume wie Staukörner
Drehorgelklang fallt aus dem Maul der Elephanten in der Nacht
jemand schrie aber um die elfte Stunde: hebet die Röcke
schüttet die Hosen aus nehmet die Kesselpauke aus dem Kniegelenk
lasst fallen die Kaffeetassen von der Höhe der Brust
OJOHO OJOHO aus den Kloaken krochen die Heere der jungen Seekühe
....
tallubolala tallubolala o höret mein Gebet

Higher ascended everything everything was swallowed up in the heights
huge pupils turn, rattling, on the galleries of cedar wood
in my breath fir trees wander like slack-water seeds
barrel-organ sounds came out of the mouths of elephants in the night
but someone cried at about the eleventh hour: lift the skirts
empty out the trousers take the kettle-drum out of the knee-joint
let the coffee cups fall from the height of the chest
OJOHO OJOHO the armies of young sea-cows crept out of the cesspools
....
tallubolala tallubolala o hear my prayer[57]

Huelsenbeck gave his poem a form similar to stream of consciousness, a live disorder rather than a dead order, conceivable as the reflection and amplification of the totality of a wicked and senseless age.[58] But perhaps even more it was a consciously senseless work (making unconscious sense?) thrown in the faces of the bourgeoisie, whose serious and aggravated response was proof to the poet of middle-class philistinism.[59] And the response had no positive relationship to the criticisms made by the Dadaists.

In contrast to the efforts of Huelsenbeck, Hans Arp hoped to develop a "concrete art," an "elemental, natural, healthy art that causes the stars of peace, love, and poetry to grow in head and heart."[60] This was a striving for reality, the reality at the junction of objective and subjective realities, a "mystical [or total] reality."[61] In line with this intention, Arp made an effort to create forms absent-mindedly and then, in some cases, placed them on a background and titled them. Thus arose lithographs such as were done about 1918, including "A Navel," a small black circle with an open center on a huge background, "The Navel Bottle," a bottle form in the center of which is a small black circle within a slightly larger (white) cut-out circle,[62] and the "Moustache Clock," a handlebar moustache form surmounted by a round form.[63] An interpretation of the round forms, especially those specifically referred to as navels, in terms of generation and birth might be validly construed as a suggestion of the need for

a rebirth of society; closed circles, or enclosed navels, might also indicate a pessimistic uncertainty, or merely uncertainty and the abundant possibilities of ambiguity. Joy in creative playfulness was certainly one aspect of Arp's art, and a significant and necessary aspect of life for him.

Until about the end of 1919 the Dadaists continued their antics in Zurich. Some of them had gone to Paris already, and others were to follow, where, after the expiration of Dada, they participated in Surrealism. In January, 1917, Huelsenbeck returned to Berlin, enriched by his year of experiences as a Dadaist. But just as he had needed no instruction on how to be a Dadaist, neither did his future cohorts in Germany; the term "Dada" did seem to act as a crystallization point for the development of a Dada movement in Berlin.[64]

A new tack was taken by the Dadaists in their effort to approach the people, but while they wished apparently to make contact with the bourgeoisie, most of the active artist-intellectuals expressed overt concern for the masses. Before the turn of the century, concern had begun to develop around the question of taking "art to the people." The Socialists considered Naturalism a revolutionary art, as its subject matter often came from that stratum of society which they referred to as "the people" *(Volk)*. They hoped that such art would aid in educating people to socialism, or at least to some of the social ills of the day. Socialism became entangled with art, and a hostile response by the authoritarian state invested art with a revolutionary halo. The phrase "art to the people" was given political connotations, and was apparently understood as indicating opposition to the social system, the traditional power structure, and, thus, to the dominant cultural values.[65] In light of the ensuing concern, the problem remained of defining the phrase "art to the people," which involved the meaning of art and the role of the artist.[66] For many people, among whom were primarily those artist-intellectuals and critics who considered the phrase to be self-evident, the meaning was simple: the artist was a party to the human community, and human values were at the core of his creativity. Not only were the roots of a living, meaningful art in the people, but this art also belonged to the people. Only in this sense was art not artificial. The Werkbund had begun the effort to re-integrate art with the daily lives of the people, and the clamor for such re-integration *from artists* reached its peak amid the flush of revolution.

Desire to unite artists and public was not sufficient in itself to do so, and a continuation of the old means of communication and interaction would hardly have been conducive to optimism had it not been for the assumed change in atmosphere stimulated by the war. Periodicals and cabarets as forums for the artist-intellectuals were by their natures limited as to the size of the audiences, and by tradition tended to be esoteric. Similarly, in spite of traditional mistrust for avant-garde artist-intellectuals, a mistrust that did not end with the revolution,[67] the individuals oriented towards construction convinced themselves, at least temporarily, that the people wanted them as spiritual leaders. The

artist-intellectuals and the masses had the same enemies: they should certainly fight together.[68] The concept of social unity was so intensified with the outbreak of revolution in November, 1918, and involved such extravagantly wishful thinking on the part of relatively socially-isolated artist-intellectuals, that its existence was assumed. It was only necessary to bring the spirit of social unity into play in order that the harmonious community be formed in Germany. Common aspirations may have existed among the masses (primarily workers) and the artist-intellectuals, but the feeling of unity appeared limited to the latter, rather than acting as a force binding the two groups.[69] Existing contacts between the artist-intellectuals and the public were hardly geared to that part of the public that most of the progressives now wished to reach. It was the newspaper, rather than periodical or cabaret, that was the vitally important means of communication, and in the socio-cultural and political spheres the new Weimar Republic, formed in 1918-1919, was to be damaged by the virtual non-existence of a concerned, informed, and responsible daily press.[70] Through war and revolution, the union between artist-intellectual and society, between art and the people, went unrealized, while more and more was written about it.[71]

The ideas of the artist-intellectuals, if they were to be realized, required a situation from which the values of pre-war Germany had been excluded, for those were the artificial values of an artificial society. In light of this prerequisite, what better could have occurred than war, defeat, and revolution? To the artist-intellectual reformers, the period after war and revolution was one during which "something new could and had to be built . . . upon the *tabula rasa.*"[72] The desire to construct a new edifice did exist, but was there in fact a *tabula rasa* upon which to build? The answer to this question had to be determined with references to facts rather than feelings. If negative, then the possibility for the completion of a revolutionary transformation had to be created; if positive, then the means and the ends of construction had to be delineated.

NOTES

[1] See, for example, Melvin Seeman, "On the Meaning of Alienation," *American Sociological Review,* XXIV, vi (December, 1959), 784-785, 790.

[2] The Prussian three-class suffrage, universal in nature for all who paid taxes, was, in effect, a two-class system, because of indirect elections. Electors for each district were selected on the basis of taxes paid: those in the highest bracket, who paid one-third of the taxes, elected one-third of the electors; those in the middle bracket, who paid the second third of the taxes, elected one-third of the electors, as did the enormously greater number of people who paid the last third of the taxes. The electors then met to elect representatives for the district, with the electors from the first two groups generally acting in concert, thus depriving the third group of all representation, translating economic advantages into political ones.

[3] For example, see Gerhard Loewenberg, *Parliament in the German Political System* (Ithaca, New York, 1967), p. 15.

[4] For a discussion of these problems, see, for example, Arthur Rosenberg, *Imperial Germany: The Birth of the German Republic, 1871-1918,* trans. I.F.D. Morrow (Boston, 1964), esp. pp. 1-72.

[5] See Friedrich Meinecke, "Die deutsche Freiheit," in *Die deutsche Freiheit, Fünf Vorträge: von Harnack-Meinecke-Sering-Troeltsch-Hintze* (Gotha, 1917), p. 21; Herbert Marcuse, *Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory* (Boston, 1960), esp. p. 15; Leonard Krieger, *The German Idea of Freedom: History of a Political Tradition* (Boston, 1957), pp. 5-6, 86-88, 127-132, 138. For some analytical consideration pertinent to the problem of dualism, see Ralph Pieris, "Ideological Momentum and Social Equilibrium," *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 57, No. 4 (January, 1952), 340-343.

[6] See, for example, Harry Pross, *Literatur und Politik: Geschichte und Programme der politisch-literarischen Zeitschriften im deutschen Sprachgebiet seit 1870* (Olten and Freiburg in Breisgau, 1963), p. 78; also, Egon Friedell, *Kulturgeschichte der Neuzeit: Die Krisis der europäischen Seele von der schwarzen Pest bis zum ersten Weltkrieg* (Munich, 1927-1931), pp. 275-278, 1476-1477, 1493-1523.

[7] In this study, the term "artist-intellectual" may be best understood as referring to the individual willing or desirous of taking up "the attempt at intellectual leadership where his art would be an instrument to define or influence the society" (Joseph Bensman and Israel Gerver, "Art and the Mass Society," *Social Problems,* VI, i [Summer, 1958], 7), "challenging the old order of society and offering a new vision of the future" (Eugenia W. Herbert, *The Artist and Social Reform: France and Belgium, 1885-1898* [New Haven, 1961], p. 213); during the process of active involvement, the artist's subtlety *may be* consciously sacrificed to ease the communication of certain points and/or the reaching of large numbers of people, *or* he may be satisfied that values, intellectual convictions, and social attitudes will be implied in his work (D[ilman] W. Gotshalk, *Art and the Social Order* [New York, 1962–2nd ed.], pp. 205-206). In addition, he may have gone to media outside his own in order to propagate his views.

[8] Bernard Myers, "Expressionism, the Emotional Approach," *American Artist,* XVI, iii (March, 1952), 46.

[9] For an examination of the roots of Expressionism that is generally valid, although his study is of literary Expressionism, see Walter H. Sokel, *The Writer in Extremis: Ex-*

pressionism in Twentieth Century German Literature (Stanford, California, 1959), Chapters 1 and 2. That the formal artistic response to the contemporary situation did not take the old forms of naturalism or realism had very much to do with the changing intellectual climate and the realization that the basic problems were deeper and more pervasive than those of earlier times; the new techniques also seemed more effective as means by which to release psychological tensions symbolically.

10 In October, 1907, Hermann Muthesius, Superintendent to the Prussian Board of Trade for Schools of Applied Arts, founded the German Werkbund, and introduced to Germany a development that had begun in England. Following the philosophical excursions of John Ruskin, one of England's major nineteenth century critics of the social evils of uncontrolled industrialization, for whom art was bound up with morality, religion, and politics, William Morris formed the Arts and Crafts Movement. In agreement with critics of industrialization because of its undesirable social repercussions, Morris was also a founder of the Socialist League and authored the utopian novel *News From Nowhere*, which went through several editions in Germany after World War I. Basic to the Arts and Crafts Movement was the desire to reassert unity among the arts, between the arts and the people, and among people (as symbolized in the Gothic Cathedral, indication and embodiment of the romanticized spirit of the Middle Ages, unity understood as stemming from devotion to a common ideal), and quality in production through a reintroduction of the guild system, thereby counteracting the effects of modern industry. At the end of the century, the movement underwent some change from what had proved to be a very aristocratic development in an age of mass production, and turned towards reaching an accommodation with the existing world, still retaining the concern with social interests. In 1901, C.R. Ashbee, one of the followers of the movement, noted its triumph, asserting that "we do not reject the machine . . . we welcome it. But we desire to see it mastered" (*An Endeavour towards the Teachings of J. Ruskin and W. Morris*, p. 47, quoted in Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of the Modern Movement: From William Morris to Walter Gropius* [London, 1936], p. 28). The new ideas, which encompassed a modern-tending functional and social art, were basic for Muthesius in founding the Werkbund, wherein the major efforts were devoted to combining design norms and systematization with free, creative individualism. In 1907, the architect Peter Behrens became the art director for the Allgemeine-Elektrizitats-Gesellschaft—Berlin, and established a basis for the union between art and industry. Another architect involved with the Werkbund was the young Walter Gropius, a former student of Behrens who was to found the State Bauhaus of Weimar in 1919. For further discussions of the above, see Pevsner, *Pioneers of the Modern Movement*, pp. 22-28, 35-39, and his *Pioneers of Modern Design: From William Morris to Walter Gropius* (New York, 1949—essentially a revised edition of the above), pp. 38, 84; Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (New York, 1960), Chapter 5; S[iegfried] Giedion, *Walter Gropius: Work and Teamwork*, trans. J. Tyrwhitt (New York, 1954), esp. pp. 20-23.

11 Georg Schmidt, *Die Malerei in Deutschland, 1900-1918* (Königstein im Taunus, 1959), p. 9.

12 Banham, *Theory and Design*, p. 276.

13 Neither the Werkbund nor the Expressionist movement were responsible for the increase in social awareness, although they certainly contributed to that awareness, after having been born of it. In speaking of the artist Ferdinand Hodler, the art critic Wilhelm Hausenstein, reading both from and into Hodler's work, noted that the paintings of this leading *Jugendstil* artist have "an imaginary relationship to a social function of art, as it arose during the Gothic age: they relate to public walls even when these walls are not there, and they relate . . . imaginatively to the public art spirit of a community, which could form a parallel to the church people of the Middle Ages. This imaginary relationship is somehow naturally [called forth] by the age in which we . . . live": *Die*

bildende Kunst der Gegenwart: Malerei, Plastik, Zeichnung (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1914), pp. 255-256.

14 Peter Selz, *German Expressionist Painting* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1957), p. 77.

15 Wilhelm F. Arntz, "Die Künstlergruppe 'Brücke,' 1905-1913," in the catalogue *Paula Modersohn und die Maler der "Brücke,"* (Bern, 1948), p. 7, from an unpublished manuscript "Odi Profanum," quoted in Selz, *German Expressionist Painting,* p. 79.

16 Hans Hildebrandt, *Der Expressionismus in der Malerei: Ein Vortrag zur Einführung in das Schaffen der Gegenwart* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1919), pp. 19, 22, and *passim.*

17 See, for example, Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Die Kunst und die Gesellschaft* (Munich, 1916), pp. 182, 192.

18 Alfred Döblin, an Expressionist novelist and essayist, annoyedly asserted that every publishing house felt it necessary to publish a periodical for its authors: "Neue Zeitschriften," *Die neue Rundschau,* XXX, i (1919), 622.

19 See below, pp. 24-25.

20 Among others, two books dealing with periodicals in Germany and a doctoral dissertation, although somewhat superficial, proved extremely useful for this study. Primary is a book by the director of the library of the Schiller National Museum in Marbach on the Neckar, Germany: Paul Raabe, *Die Zeitschriften und Sammlungen des literarischen Expressionismus: Repertorien der Zeitschriften, Jahrbücher, Anthologien, Sammelwerke, Schriftenreihen und Almanache 1910-1921, Repertorien zur Deutschen Literaturgeschichte,* Vol. I (Stuttgart, 1964). Oriented along a more specific approach is: Harry Pross, *Literatur und Politik* (see above, p.14,n.6), and Susi Stappenbacher, "Die deutschen literarischen Zeitschriften in den Jahren 1918-1925 als Ausdruck geistiger Strömungen der Zeit," Unpublished Doctoral dissertation; Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1961.

21 Raabe, *literarischen Expressionismus,* pp. 6-8, 25-26, 34.

22 For example, Paul Pörtner, *Literatur-Revolution 1910-1925: Dokumente, Manifeste, Programme. II: Zur Begriffsbestimmung der Ismen* (Darmstadt, etc., 1961), pp. 7-8.

23 Raabe, *literarischen Expressionismus,* pp. 25-29; also see the catalogue of an exhibition held from September 24 to November 19, 1961, in the Nationalgalerie in der Orangerie des Schlosses Charlottenburg, Berlin, *Der Sturm: Herwarth Walden und die Europäische Avantgarde 1912-1932.*

24 Rudolf Kurtz, "Programmatisches," quoted in Pross, *Literatur und Politik,* pp. 227-229.

25 Hans Hess, *Lyonel Feininger* ([Stuttgart], [1959]), p. 84; Raabe, *literarischen Expressionismus,* p. 1.

26 Raabe, *literarischen Expressionismus,* p. 33.

27 [Franz Pfemfert (?)], "Bemerkung," quoted in Pross, *Literatur und Politik,* p. 231.

28 For example, one of the members of *The Action* group, Hans Richter, who became a pioneer in film experimentation with Viking Eggeling and was a sometime associate of the Dadaists, went to Switzerland and was instrumental in the founding of a very

short-lived "Association of Revolutionary Artists" in Zurich, 1919, intended for the express purpose of assuring artist involvement in the revolutionary wave: see Georges Hugnet, "The Dada Spirit in Painting," trans. R. Mannheim, in Robert Motherwell, ed., *The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology* (New York, 1951), p. 134–hereafter cited as Motherwell, *Anthology*.

29 Franz Pfemfert, "Schlussbemerkung für Fernstehende," in Franz Pfemfert, ed., *Das Aktionsbuch* (Berlin-Wilmersdorf, 1917), p. 342; for a consideration of some of Pfemfert's other publications, see below, p. 36 n. 14.

30 See Pross, *Literatur und Politik*, p. 88; the author asserts that in 1903 there were 191 political-literary periodicals in the Empire, none of which represented the whole (p. 49).

31 An example of this, although revealing little more than sympathies existing that to some extent touched upon the positions of both *The Storm* and *The Action*, and other periodicals and groups, was the progressive literary Cabaret Gnu in Munich, led by the activist Kurt Hiller; participants in the Cabaret Gnu included the Expressionist authors Walter Hasenclever and Ludwig Rubiner, whose works were published in the Munich periodicals *Revolution* and *The Action*, Hiller and Rubiner also having work published in *The Storm*. Among others whose work appeared in *Revolution* were Hugo Ball and Richard Huelsenbeck, both of whom participated in the Dada movement (see below, pp. 9-11), and who both previously had had work published in *The Action*. See the advertisement for the Cabaret Gnu in *Revolution*, No. 1 (1913), p. [7], and Raabe, *literarischen Zeitschriften*, pp. 26-27, 34-35, 50.

32 For some discussion of Berlin coffee houses, see Ernst Pauly, ed., *20 Jahre Café des Westens: Erinnerungen von Kurfürstendamm* (Berlin, 1915), Herbert Pfeiffer, *Berlin zwanziger Jahre* (Berlin-Zehlendorf, 1961), esp. pp. 18-21, and [Paul E. Marcus] PEM, *Heimweh nach dem Kurfürstendamm: Aus Berlins glanzvollsten Tagen und Nächten* (Berlin, 1952).

33 Pross, *Literatur und Politik*, p. 81.

34 Letter to Käthe Froehlich-Brodnitz, April 9, [1915], p. [5], in the Brodnitz Collection, Schiller National Museum.

35 See, for example, Hans Roselieb, *Die Zukunft des Expressionismus* (Mainz, 1920), p. 27, and Gerth Schreiner, *Die Republik der Vierzehn Jahre* (Bilthoven, Holland, 1939), pp. 85-86.

36 See Albert Dresdner, "Aus dem Berliner Kunstleben," *Deutsche Rundschau*, Vol. 182 (January-March, 1920), p. 302.

37 Selz, *German Expressionist Painting*, p. 312.

38 For example, Wieland Herzfelde, *John Heartfield: Leben und Werk dargestellt von seinem Bruder* (Dresden, 1962), pp. 15-16; T. Lux Feininger, who studied at the Bauhaus and is the son of Lyonel Feininger (who taught at the Bauhaus), suggests that the prevalent attitude made it possible for the Bauhaus director, Walter Gropius, to (hope to?) realize his aims: " . . . the students of the early years . . . were 'goal-directed' . . ., through privation, suffering, indignation at the failure of a system; hungry for a spiritual rebirth. They came to the Bauhaus ready for the experiment" ("The Bauhaus: Evolution of an Idea," *Criticism*, II, iii , Summer, 1960, 263).

39 Wieland Herzfelde, "Zur Orientierung!" in *Neue Jugend* (Berlin, 1921–bound republication), facing p. 123.

40 Wieland Herzfelde, *Immergrün: Merkwürdige Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen eines fröhlichen Waisenknaben* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1961), p. 74.

41 Helmuth Herzfeld[e] (John Heartfield) was responsible for this periodical, which appeared only twice: on May 23, 1917, and in June, 1917, as the prospectus for a portfolio of drawings by George Grosz.

42 The inclusion of Heartfield among the Dadaists, which has been the general practice and shall be concurred in for this study, offers support for a view of Dada as a temporary focal point for diverse individuals, rather than anything exact in nature (see below, p. 40, n. 64), in light of Heartfield's political commitment (see below, p. 170).

43 See Richard Huelsenbeck, *Dada: Eine literarische Dokumentation* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1964), p. 19.

44 Youth was a significant factor: in 1918, of the above-mentioned individuals, only Baader was older than thirty-two, and Wieland Herzfelde and Walter Mehring were the youngest at twenty-two.

45 For example, George Grosz wrote to his long-time friend Robert Bell merely that "since I have seen a single year of war, I am no longer such a fervent friend of . . . my fatherland" (p. 3 of the letter, dated "the seventh Friday of 1917 [February] ; Berlin, Academy of Arts, GG No. 29); further observation of the results of the war, coupled with reconsideration and reflection, intensified Grosz's attitude, so that in his memoirs he noted: "What I saw filled me with disgust and aversion for mankind" (*A Little Yes and a Big No: The Autobiography of George Grosz*, trans. L.S. Dorin [New York, 1946], p.146, and also see pp. 145 and 158).

46 See, for example, Peter Schifferli, ed., *Als Dada begann: Bildchronik und Erinnerungen der Gründer* (Zurich, 1957), pp. 8, 10, 12, 36, 40, 44, 86-89; for a very brief but interesting and amusing view by an outsider on the origins of Dada, see Emil Szittya, *Das Kuriositäten-Kabinett: Begegnungen mit seltsamen Begebenheiten, Landstreichern, Verbrechern, Artisten, religiös Wahnsinnigen, sexuellen Merkwürdigkeiten, Sozialdemokraten, Syndikalisten, Kommunisten, Anarchisten, Politikern und Künstlern* (Constance, 1923), p. 281.

47 Hugo Ball, ed., *Cabaret Voltaire: Eine Sammlung künstlerischer und literarischer Beiträge* (Zurich, 1916), p. 5.

48 Hugo Ball, *Die Flucht aus der Zeit* (Munich and Leipzig, 1927), p. 91 (April 14, 1916).

49 Ball, ibid., p. 83 (March 5, 1916); also see Hans Arp, *Unsern täglichen Traum . . .: Erinnerungen, Dichtungen und Betrachtungen aus den Jahren 1914-1954* (Zurich, 1955): "Dada wanted to startle men out of their wretched [and self-assumed] powerlessness" (p. 20), and "Dada was against progress that makes of men useless buttons on senseless machines" (p. 41); "they [the half-beings] suspect only vaguely as in a half-sleep that they live / half-mute half-motionless half-real . . . they live half / they sleep half . . . they . . . hope only that some day / a half-white half-gray heaven / will come half-way / to them to the half-mute half-motionless half-real / to them to the half-moved half-unmoved": from Hans Arp "5," in *Behaarte Herzen 1923-1926; Könige vor der Sintflut 1952-1953* (Frankfurt on the Main, 1953), pp. 21, 23.

50 [Hans] Arp, *On My Way: Poetry and Essays 1912 . . . 1947* (New York, 1948): the German version is on p. 84, and the translation by R. Mannheim is on p. 37.

51 Arp, *On My Way*, German: pp. 92-93; English: pp. 49-50. Also see, in the same book,

"The Measure of All Things," German: p. 81; English: p. 35.

52 Arp, *On My Way*, German: p. 86; English: pp. 39-40.

53 Arp, *On My Way*, German: p. 82; English: p. 36.

54 See, for example, Hans Richter, *Dada—Kunst und Antikunst: Der Beitrag Dadas zur Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne, 1964), pp. 60-61.

55 In keeping with this study, Huelsenbeck and Arp, both Germans, were selected for discussion here.

56 Richard Huelsenbeck, "Vorwort," *Phantastische Gebete* (Zurich, 1960), pp. 13-14.

57 Huelsenbeck, from "Das indianische Meer und die ganz rote Sonne," in *Phantastische Gebete*, p. 28, lines 1-10, p. 29, line 7.

58 Ball, *Flucht aus der Zeit*, p. 84 (March 11, 1916).

59 See Theodor Geiger, *Aufgaben und Stellung der Intelligenz in der Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart, 1949), p. 136.

60 Arp, *On My Way*, German: pp. 98-99; English: p. 72.

61 Arp, *On My Way*, German: p. 82; English: p. 36. In the 'twenties, the Surrealists sought a similar "total reality," and earlier Hugo Ball observed that the Dadaist "no longer believes in the comprehension of things from *one* point, but is nevertheless convinced of the union of all things, of totality, to such an extent that he suffers from dissonances to the point of self-dissolution" (*Flucht aus der Zeit*, p. 99 [June 12, 1916]; also in "Dada Fragments," trans. E. Jolas, in Motherwell, *Anthology*, p. 51).

62 See illustration, Appendix B, p. 206.

63 "Arp-Mappe: 7 Arpaden," *Merz*, No. 5 [1923], Plates III, IV, and V.

64 Franz Jung makes the extreme assertion that Huelsenbeck's *only* significance in relation to Dada in Berlin was his having brought the name with him (*Der Weg nach unten: Aufzeichnungen aus einer grossen Zeit* [Neuwied on the Rhine, Berlin-Spandau, 1961], p. 110). Not only Paris and Berlin drew Dadaists away from activities in Switzerland, and at about the same time that Huelsenbeck left Zurich, Hugo Ball dropped out of the Dada movement. For him, Dada very definitely had been only a temporary halting place, just as it was to prove to be for most individuals involved, and he went on to embrace a form of mystical Catholicism. Ball's new interests focused on Franz von Baader (he mentions this interest in a letter to his wife sent sometime between 1916 and 1919, probably in 1918: see Emmy Ball-Hennings, *Hugo Ball: Sein Leben in Briefen und Gedichten* [Berlin, 1929], p. 99) and a holy Christian revolution, which was to be followed by a mystical union of free nations (Ball, *Flucht aus der Zeit*, p. 247 [June 5, 1919]). In 1919, Ball's book *Zur Kritik der deutschen Intelligenz*, "dedicated to the leaders of the moral revolution" (p. III), was published. Also see Hugo Ball, *Briefe 1911-1927* (Einsiedeln, etc., 1957).

65 Schreiner, *Republik der Vierzehn Jahre*, pp. 48-49.

66 See, for example, Karl Scheffler, *Die Zukunft der deutschen Kunst* (Berlin, 1919), pp. 18-19.

67 See Schreiner, *Republik der Vierzehn Jahre,* p. 100; this was also to prove a very trying problem for the new school of applied and fine arts and architecture in Weimar, the State Bauhaus: for example, W. Müller-Wulckow, "Für das Bauhaus in Weimar," Frankfurter *Zeitung,* February 2, 1920, noted the difficulties experienced by the Naturalist painter Arnold Böcklin when he was in Weimar in the mid-nineteenth century; A.B., "Das 'Staatliche Bauhaus' in Weimar. Reaktions wühlereien gegen die neue deutsche Kunst," *Vorwärts* (Berlin), January 5, 1920; Leonhard Schrickel, "Manifeste," *Deutschland* (Weimar), January 21, 1920, reacted to Dada, among other things, with "as if [Goethe] had never lived in Weimar" (the above are all in SG, SB No. 1, BD).

68 Adolf Behne, "Alte und neue Plakate," in *Das politische Plakat* (Charlottenburg, 1919), pp. 22-23.

69 With reference to the Dadaists in Berlin, see Herzfelde, *Heartfield,* p. 23, and to an analogous situation for the Surrealists in Paris [Patrick Waldberg], "In Quest of a New Reality," in *Surrealism,* trans. S. Gilbert (Paris, 1962), p. 17; compare with Sokel, *Writer in Extremis,* pp. 177-183, and esp. p. 182.

70 See Rom Landau, *Der unbestechliche Minos: Kritik an der Zeitkunst* (Hamburg, 1925), p. 27; also, Peter De Mendelssohn, *Zeitungsstadt Berlin: Menschen und Mächte in der Geschichte der deutschen Presse* (Berlin, 1959), pp. 311-312.

71 Otto Tumlirz, *Die Kultur der Gegenwart und das deutsche Bildungsideal* (Leipzig, 1932), p. 96.

72 Ernst Troeltsch, *Spektator-Briefe: Aufsätze über die deutsche Revolution und die Weltpolitik 1918/22* (Tübingen, 1924), p. 49 ("Der Ansturm gegen die Demokratie," April 20, 1919); also see Harry Graf Kessler, *Tagebücher 1918-1937* (Frankfurt on the Main, 1961), p. 26 (November 9, 1918).



Illustration 1

Ludwig Meidner, "Revolution (Battle on the Barricades)," 1913

CHAPTER II

PEN, BRUSH, AND HEART: AN EXPRESSION OF REVOLUTION

O Trinität des Werks: Erlebnis, Formulierung, Tat.
Ich lerne. Bereite mich vor. Ich übe mich.
. . . bald werden sich die Sturzwellen meiner Sätze zu einer unerhörten Figur verfügen.
Reden. Manifeste. Parlament. Der Experimentalroman.
Gesänge von Tribünen herab vorzutragen.

Der neue, der heilige Staat
Sei gepredigt, dem Blut der Völker, Blut von ihrem Blut, eingeimpft.

Restlos sei er gestaltet.
Paradies setzt ein.
—Lasst uns die Schlagwetter-Atmosphäre verbreiten!—
Lernt! Vorbereitet! Übt euch!

O trinity of work: experience, formulation, action.
I learn. [I] prepare myself. I practice.
. . . the breakers created by my sentences will soon take on an unprecedented form.
Speeches. Manifestoes. Parliament. The experimental novel.
Songs to be given from tribunes.

Let the new, the hallowed state
Be preached, be implanted in the blood of the peoples, blood of their blood.

Relentlessly it is given form.
Paradise begins.
—Let us spread the explosive atmosphere!—
Learn! Prepare! Practice![1]

Johannes Becher's words heralded the revolution, and suggested and pleaded for the realization of the hopes of the artist-intellectuals. Their strength at expressing and symbolizing events and hopes was very much in contrast with their inability to lead others and to translate hopes into reality.

Revolution in Germany was a crystallization point for all the transformative ideas that had been bandied about during the preceding years. One initial, broadly based artistic response to industrialization had been the formation of the Werkbund, followed by the multiplication of more specifically oriented art and literary groups. In November, 1918, caught up in the enthusiasm of the revolution, many artist-intellectuals were voicing agreement with Kurt Hiller, leader of the German Activists and the "Council of Intellectual Workers," who asserted that, for pure activists, art was a "means to higher

ends . . . ends of the spirit, that is: improvement of the world, the realization of the kingdom of God on earth . . . ."[2] It was with similar ends in mind that the November Group, led by Max Pechstein, Expressionist artist and a former member of "The Bridge," and the Expressionist César Klein, and the Work-Council for Art, led by the architect Walter Gropius, the art and architecture critic Adolf Behne, and Klein, were organized in Berlin between November, 1918, and April, 1919. These groups, two among many organized for similar purposes on a smaller scale, were extensively interlocked, and sought the unity of artists in action and in carrying out in the sphere of the intellect and its periphery what the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils of revolutionary Germany had initially hoped to accomplish in the political, economic, and social spheres.[3] Artist-intellectuals took upon themselves the task of creating the real spiritual and cultural base that would make the revolution a success. A revolution of values and the creation of a new ideal as the point of orientation for a new age were necessary to complement and support the apparently objective socio-political changes that had occurred.[4] The artist-intellectuals believed in and were intent upon creating a new age for Germany,[5] but this new age was to remain an ideal, realized only symbolically.

A major problem for the artist-intellectuals in quest of a new Germany was that what they were striving for was envisioned by and existed only for them and for those who agreed with them. Plans for the process of transformation could apply only to the pictures they drew of the cultural situation, past, present, and future, and could be realized only by men who agreed with and themselves conformed to the artist-intellectuals' notion of man. In all that the artist-intellectuals said and did, only rarely was there meaningful consideration of preparing the path for an intellectual revolution. Thoughts about outlived values were abundant, but basic was the conception that, at the proper moment, these values would simply disappear, and into the vacuum would rush the new ones that were being propagated among themselves. That deculturation and desocialization, rooting out established norms and values from the society, might not occur of themselves, nor easily, was hardly given a thought, because such considerations were not relevant to the artist-intellectuals. When the Ullstein Publishing House brought out a series of pamphlets entitled *Revolution and Construction (Umsturz und Aufbau)*, it was a token effort on behalf of revolution that gave rise to a visionary mist of what the future might bring. Humanity rather than Germany was the focus for the pamphlets that dealt most closely with revolution, and the artist-intellectuals' lack of appeal to the German people who were not living in the clouds with them was one significant factor in denying them a leadership role.

As a prophet of Expressionism and revolution, the early nineteenth century author Georg Büchner, who had hoped to see the triumph of concrete deeds over the rhetorical ideals of the German freedom movement,[6] was given

first position in the Ullstein pamphlet series. His letter to the representative of the Hessian Diet, which with tables and figures condemned the economic exploitation of the peasants in the period before the revolution of 1848, was published as *"Peace to the Cottages! War to the Palaces!"* Büchner had sought an objectively justified revolution for social and economic justice, and barely touched upon the question of a constructive effort. In a stirring introduction to this pamphlet, Kurt Pinthus, a respected author and drama critic, explained Büchner's life of revolt against the "thoughts, feelings, and art of this time" as being not a result of "pig-headed bitterness [nor] of mental abstractions, but of the stormy movement of a sympathetic heart and a passionate soul."[7] Similar descriptions would have been valid for any number of revolution- and reform-minded artist-intellectuals in Germany: sympathetic hearts and passionate souls were many, but were not sufficiently complemented by minds that were objective and analytical. Although generalized, emotional views involving values are essential to the creation of revolutionary situations, they are effective only with reference to the destructive side of revolution. Construction, the other aspect of the Ullstein pamphlets, is dependent upon the articulation of specifics, without which efforts to shift from revolutionary destruction to (essentially reforming) construction may very well be immobilized.[8] As often the case in Germany, once again constructive efforts were to be stymied in part by adherence to uncompromising world-views.[9] Moreover, ambivalence with regard to any definite commitment to construction as opposed to the freedom and ambiguity of criticism retained its paramountcy as a stance for the artist-intellectual. A vicious circle developed as inaction intensified doubts about the reality of the revolution that had occurred, which in turn increased the reluctance to act. Optimism faded, and questions multiplied concerning the existence of a *tabula rasa* upon which to build. Understandably, many artist-intellectuals, among them at least some of the Berlin Dadaists, came to agree with the Spartacists, the informal name a group of radical Socialists adopted towards the end of the war, and then the Communists, and pressed the call to complete the revolution.[10] Ambivalence and uncertainty regarding positive action were also tied in with the artist-intellectual's hesitating realization that the implementation of his goal would require that he overcome a general antipathy for politics and, perhaps, accept the necessity to compromise in order to secure any part of that goal.[11]

Most artist-intellectuals were certain that their quest should be to build the house of the future (or, more properly, to draw the plans for the house of the future), not rebuild that of the past: the need was for "construction," not "reconstruction."[12] The *Revolution and Construction* pamphlet series was somewhat disoriented with its emphasis upon men of the spirit and the heart. Although spirit and heart were the only weapons left Germany after defeat, the real need was to translate visions into reality, or to make visions practicable. The pamphlets were intended to stimulate the quest for renewal by serving as "signal

lights for a better future, transcending our chaotic present," a future brightened by a new sense of humanity, with what existed no longer serving as the standard against which to measure that which could or should be.[13] The greatest difficulty for the artist-intellectuals was to determine "what should be," not only within the general context, but even within a given group of reformers. Neither this nor any other series of pamphlets or books, and these were innumerable and dealt with every aspect of life,[14] nor the proliferating periodicals, nor any active group in Germany that lacked power was going to solve the problems of unity in goals and means.

The artist-intellectual wanted to be the political leader of the day. With his vision of love and humanity "the flame of his word becomes music./ He will found the great union of states./ The justice of humanity. The republic."[15] The expression of these thoughts was the music of the revolution for the compassionate artists who wished to fulfill their self-conceived roles in the construction of a new society, roles that would not require drawing distinctions between the artist and the man, roles that would mean a reintegration of the artist with society. Yet if their own analyses of the German past were correct, and to a significant degree they seem to have been, would the artist-intellectuals be able to overcome the split between artist and society, the subjective and the objective, the ideal and the real? If "the history of Germany [were] conditioned by a disastrous separation of the intellect and politics," [16] so that "instead of insisting upon the sovereignty of the spirit and . . . opposing reality with the idea," the artists and intellectuals had subjected themselves to and served the ruling powers,[17] could they now reverse this habit, and become leaders? In order to translate their desires into reality, they had to maintain an awareness of the past and especially of the frustrated revolution of 1848: the far-reaching revolution they sought could not be achieved through compromise with anything that smacked of the old, nor by a group of artist-intellectuals isolated from all other groups in the country. Yet their words increasingly belied what they had initially recognized as necessary. Instead of retaining some critical standards vis-à-vis the developments of the day, many of the artist-intellectuals surrendered these entirely to fantasy-building, which they interpreted as their sole role in affecting the real situation. But their utopias were neither acknowledged as such nor made use of to induce striving for a new future.

At about the same time that the *Revolution and Construction* series began to appear, a major rallying call to artists was sounded. *To All Artists! (An alle Künstler!)* was an ardent expression of sympathy by concerned artists with the members of the proletariat in their struggle to achieve for themselves a position of self-respect. The time had arrived for the commitment and involvement of those who saw, or thought they saw, *the way* that Germany should travel. Most characteristic for this pamphlet is the Expressionist César Klein's drawing of "The New Bird Phoenix": the bodies of dead workers, sacrifices to

the capitalist gods, being immolated form the fertile source from which arises the new, vigorous worker, his arm extended toward the sun as indication of his pending triumph.[18] The social-revolutionary artists exchanged their pre-war prophecies of destruction[19] for optimistic visions of heaven on earth, the "dawn of unity [for] 'people [*Volk*] and art.' "[20] A tone of urgency was given to the suggestion that artist-intellectuals form "a holy solidarity" with the poor, including workers and beggars, dependent as they all were upon the moods of the bourgeoisie. In contrast to the bourgeoisie's hatred and fear (a hatred that resulted from fear) of the spirit, was the worker's respect for it. Artists had to unite with the workers' party; they had to be true socialists, for it was a question of justice, freedom, and charity, a question of "God's order in the world!"[21] This was a clear statement, as clear as such might be, of an ecstatic humanitarian socialism, conceived as a mystical-religious brotherhood of man that would be established by good thoughts and good hearts, merely by acknowledging the existence of both of these features. With their visionary language, most artist-intellectuals indicated that their competency was limited to expression. Obliviousness to virtually everything but visions of the future tended to alienate the artist from precisely that community with which he wished to form a pact. Cut off, apparently, from daily realities and the needs of the present, he would also be cut off from the worker, who was struggling for survival (which *is* precisely how the artist pictured the worker). By 1917, the workers' overriding desires were for the food and wages that war had denied them, and that peace implied;[22] they were concerned with sustenance and the present, rather than abstractions and the future.

Some artist-intellectuals did attempt to direct their abilities to the realization of their aims in the present; they believed that what was developing in Germany *was* the hope of the future, and that the actualization of their vision of that future depended upon action rather than waiting for the sudden, millenial appearance of "God's order in the world." Thus appeared in Berlin an ocean of placards, individual efforts without unity or definite direction,[23] a "new art" meant to educate the people in unity and to "the service of the revolution."[24] More important, the people would be educated to socialism, an apolitical or supra-political socialism based upon the interrelationship of man with man,[25] the only circumstance conducive to the realization of "the *idea of a free, responsible, creating and creative humanity.*"[26] Still, the artist-intellectuals in general left the means whereby to achieve their ends unexplored and unmentioned. Considering their major task the formation of ideals, of goals towards which men might strive, the revolutionary and reforming artists judged that importance for them lay in "what" and not "how," in symbolic expression rather than instrumentation.[27] Quiescent in the undefined region between the shattered old world and the unformed new one, the artist-intellectual felt most free: here, possibilities, however improbable, could be most

justifiably and enthusiastically portrayed and preached about; here, he was not alienated because there was nothing from which to be alienated,[28] neither polity, nor society, nor the opposition of individual to collective values.

Another relevant question for the artist-intellectual was that of his role vis-à-vis the state, the dominant and disturbing thought in his mind being that he might deny his own nature by participating in a subordinate way in reality. Certainly the writer (artist-intellectual) might expect protection of his "freedom . . . and interests" and, perhaps, recognition by the state, and upon this expectation's being realized one might assume his support in turn for the Republic to depend; but could he in all honesty so act if his *"natural tendency"* was to oppose the national state as such and to advocate internationalism? Certainly, he could justify support for the national state and the extant or developing social system, were they together recognized as forming only an intermediate stage in the quest for the international community; the national state might in itself be transformed into a microcosm of the contemplated community, based upon the visionary ideals of the artist-intellectual.[29] But here too was an implied leap from the revolutionary situation to the existence of a republic, without any consideration of the artist-intellectual's position during the necessary process of transformation. Moreover, the artist could hardly be expected to await the establishment of the humanity-oriented state of the future before making an effort to realize his true nature and work towards a perpetuating of the spiritual revolution.[30] It was during the period of revolutionary flux that he desired to participate, ready and eager to assume some initiative and responsibility in determining his own relation to the forthcoming state. At the same time, many artist-intellectuals were skeptical of Kurt Hiller's assertion that the intellectual *had to be* an activist, although generally agreeing that the intellectual who abdicated all responsibility and stayed away from reality was the "real philistine"[31]—the realm of the ideal was very real for the artist-intellectual.

In accord with the artist-intellectual's uncertainty and self-doubt, regrets were expressed for the wonderful might-have-been even before there was opportunity for the future to prove disappointing.[32] A few years earlier, Wieland Herzfelde had pointedly criticized some collections of poems by Johannes Becher. He referred to Becher as a "platonic radical," who would acknowledge or deny problems, but would not solve them (or even try to do so); Herzfelde further characterized him as a chronic optimist, with millenarian expectancies since he did not intend to act, for whom Sodom was "no world demise. . . ."[33] Such criticisms would have held for most of the artist-intellectuals. They proved to be reformers in spirit, but not reformers of the spirit; the only spirits significantly moved were those that needed no reforming. Only when it came to being considered as reformers in relation to political and social realities could they be considered as reformers of the spirit, the artist-intel-

lectuals' aims being almost hopelessly out of touch with their actions. In fact, what was most essential were proposals that would make "becoming" a reality, answers to "how" rather than or in addition to "what," answers to the problems of the day rather than so many vague pictures of the morrow. Learning, preparation, and practice were essential; it remained to be determined what precisely was to be learned, how it was to be prepared for, and who was going to direct or guide the practice. Moreover, it was yet to be ascertained whether some essential "un-learning" might first have to occur. For all their effusive enthusiasm, only a minority of reform-minded artist-intellectuals had any ideas concerning concrete solutions for the problems they wanted to cope with. Most important was their basic hesitancy, along with radicals in general, to adjust their ideas to humdrum reality, however aware they might have been of that reality,[34] and to reach for the power, had they the chance, necessary for the translation of their ideas into reality.[35]

At the time that their visionary pronouncements were confronting the public, many of the artist-intellectuals were participating in the two groups—the Work-Council for Art and the November Group[36]—that had been formed for the purpose of organized action. Basic to the Work-Council was the conviction that "the political revolution [had to] be used to free art from decades of tutelage" and to unite the arts under architecture, forming a unity of art and people and turning art into something enjoyable by and vital for the masses.[37] A more intensive and more realistic program than any previously proposed was developed, including a call for a complete change of educational methods in the arts in line with long germinating plans, one of which had been set forth by van de Velde for a combination of the schools of fine and applied arts and architecture in Weimar.

In the attempt to create an effective working community of artist-intellectuals concerned with the place of art in society, the idea of "art to the people!" received its most telling consideration. Attention paid this problem increased enormously with the outbreak of revolution. It seemed that the individual art style was in fact being superseded by a social art style, with emphasis upon architecture as the community art, best suited because of its function to bridging the gap between artist and society.[38] With regard to this approach, the inference was drawn that "radical" modern art was closely associated with political radicalism, which also advocated the idea of community *(Gemeinschaft)*.[39] At any rate, both the political radicals and the artist-intellectual radicals seemed agreed that significant changes would depend upon more than overt forms. In his book entitled *The Crown of the City* (*Die Stadtkrone*, 1919), the architect, city planner, and anarchist Bruno Taut[40] included an essay that, though not by him, accurately conveyed his views and those of his associates' on the Work-Council for Art: "people's right," "people's will," and "people's state" have changed (already) from vigorous tendencies to "empty

parliamentary formulas, newspaper headlines, and book titles . . . properly understood, the people and art are indivisible. . . ."[41] Taut's ideal, which he acknowledged as such, would have been the anarchical situation, wherein highest consideration would be afforded the individual by individuals; man as individual would thus be a part of life and the world without any intervening artificial and imposed conventions, and in this situation he would be at one with art. For art to retain its full meaning, so had the people to be in a total rather than a partial sense. The critic Adolf Behne, a friend of both Walter Gropius and Bruno Taut, similarly asserted the dependency of the realization of true architecture and true art on their connection with the people, a unified people.[42]

From the Work-Council came ideas both clear and articulated, and vague and generalized, but advantage could hardly be taken of any of them. It became increasingly evident that the generally agreed-upon prerequisites established by Taut in his *Architecture Program,* completed by Christmas, 1918, as the first pamphlet of the Work-Council, were not to be met. Taut gave expression with his *Crown of the City* to the concept of the great cathedral, with its medieval roots, that had been and would be symbolic of the spirit of unity of the people.[43] The new cathedral could only be created after the completed spiritual revolution: both building and revolution "[had to] be wanted." Were Germans in general concerned with "the completed spiritual revolution"? Did they realize that a much further-reaching revolution was necessary than that which merely transformed outer forms?

In November, 1919, a pamphlet containing answers to a questionnaire that had been sent out earlier in the year as part of the quest for a definite program of action was published by the Work-Council. As a leader of the Work-Council and, since April, 1919, the director of the State Bauhaus in Weimar, Walter Gropius responded in a manner representative of the artist-intellectuals, though somewhat more extensive because of his greater involvement with the problems of education. Concern throughout focused primarily upon freedom for the arts: however vital art might be to society, it had to be allowed free rein; at the same time, only the government, by rooting out commercialism, could establish the situation that would make possible a new flourishing of the arts among the people.[44] In general, the possibilities for Germany were enormous "because war, hunger, and pestilence have loosened the rigidity within us, shaken up the mentally sluggish and the comfortable ones, and made sleeping, inert hearts sensitive again."[45] Once more, the idealism of the German artist-intellectual was made vivid. Gropius's belief that the old structure of society and the old ways of the people had been undermined, followed by the dissolution of the artificial inhibitions that had been imposed upon the young, was the reason behind his founding the Bauhaus and putting his faith in education. One is confronted again with the idea that all that was now necessary was construction: the discontinuities in social, political, and

economic patterns created by war, in all its ramifications, and revolution were considered as having been so thorough and far-reaching as to leave the way open for effective builders. In Zurich, Hans Arp had spoken of those artists who were "dreamers" in the catacombs, vociferous and inactive:[46] this description was applicable to the artists in Berlin and Germany in general, and its significance did not reach the "half-mute, half-motionless, half-real" artist-intellectuals, bourgeoisie, and masses.

Gropius contended that the artists' major concern at the time, easier for them because of their idealism than perhaps for anyone else, had to be the fullest realization of their humanity. They had to live a life of art and help prepare the spiritual base for new art, working together and setting an example for the entire people in the building of small communities, akin to the "cottage workshops [*Bauhütten*] of the handicraftsmen-artists as in the golden age of the cathedrals!"[47] In this way they would revive the cathedral as the symbolic embodiment of the medieval community's spirit of unity, a transcendent ideal that transformed the whole into something greater than its parts.[48]

For all his fantastic plans, it was Bruno Taut, more than any of the others whose answers were published, who attempted to deal with some of the problems that were integrally involved with the situation of the day, with life, and with immediately realizable goals. Taut thought that the Work-Council should consider the disposition of former royal possessions, so as not to leave any reminders of the old socio-politico-cultural structure; they should be concerned with hindering both idolization of *and* forgetfulness of the war.[49] The Work-Council was seen as being more than an organization meant to deal merely with art and art-political questions. It was also to be very much responsible for involving the artist fully in the life of the nation, considering problems that concerned the artist as human being as well as artist.[50]

With *Yes! Voices of the Work-Council for Art in Berlin*, the Work-Council seemed to be appealing, as had the authors of some of the essays in *To All Artists!*, to the government as the sole agent responsible for initiating and executing the artists' suggestions.[51] This would seem to indicate that even the artist-intellectuals, for all their individualism, were still in some ways conditioned to authoritarian government; consequently, the reformers (as opposed to the revolutionaries) among them had necessarily to set their program(s) before the government, rather than before the people. Such an attitude revealed these artist-intellectuals, at least, to be at one with the mass of German society, which had theretofore not been involved in the governing process[52] and lacked the political education necessary for responsible participation. Even among those who were convinced that the revolution had been effective—in part, precisely because of their conviction—the old foundation had not been completely cleared away, and substantial changes remained to be made.

Fraught with idealism, and thwarted in their efforts during a time when

government and society were submerged beneath problems of an apparently more pressing nature, the members of the Work-Council voted to dissolve the organization on May 30, 1921: "Our work should have taught us that the time for an organization [has] not yet arrived."[53] What might also have been realized was that extremely individualistic artist-intellectuals were almost fated to fail in their attempts to form a goal-oriented, harmonious group, regardless of the bases for unity. There had been opposition to any compromising of ideals[54] and a lack of means for their realization. In particular, there had been opposition to art exhibits, although not strictly adhered to, as they were considered indicative of a dead or, at best, superficial culture.[55] The members of the group had themselves limited their possibilities for communicating with and educating the public to accepting art as a part of their lives. The other of the revolutionary organizations, the November Group, went decidedly further with the quest to exert an influence upon the construction of the new society, holding classes in art appreciation and putting together educational exhibits that had a specific direction. But the November Group too foundered upon the reefs of idealism and traditionalism.[56]

In their idealistic fervor, the artist-intellectual would-be reformers fused questions of art, politics, and social-humanitarianism; rather than deal with construction step-by-step, they sought to deal with life in its totality.[57] By so doing, they multiplied their difficulties and brought upon themselves criticism of the same very general nature, from both expected and unexpected sources. At the end of 1919, the artist Otto Freundlich, one proponent of a generalized program and a believer in "cosmic communism" who had been a member of the Work-Council for Art and the November Group,[58] unleashed a scathing critique of both these groups and the Werkbund. He asserted that they all had, in very short time, lost their revolutionary zeal, evidently having been "baptized with the water of the bourgeois church, saturated with the spirit of snobbishness, status-seeking, and the entire mercantile infection."[59] This criticism seems to have been bound to the increasing post-war acceptance and embracing of Expressionism by the middle class and its effects upon the artists. The dissatisfied Freundlich went on to claim that the spirit had lost its freedom and become destitute of all value as collective efforts buried the positive characteristics of the individual. A balance had to be struck between the individual and the group, because the artist who held himself above all others, for whatever reasons, immediately defeated any cause on behalf of which he had decided to fight in cooperation with others. It was not for this self-centered individual to tell others of his intentions and then tolerate no criticism. The critical, responsible, democratic aspects of the spirit that were sought were being denied in the seeking.[60]

Shortly after the publication of Freundlich's condemnation of the artists' action groups there appeared in another revolutionary periodical, *The*

Opponent (Der Gegner), an "Open Letter to the November Group," signed by, among others, the Berlin Dadaists Raoul Hausmann, George Grosz, and Hannah Hōch.[61] They decried the November Group's degeneration into a bourgeois academy, symbol and reality of everything against which the artist-intellectuals had been fighting when they undertook, as members of that group, to meet what they considered their revolutionary task. The academy was the home of the traditional in the arts, where the aspiring creator was taught how to channel his creative urge in a way that would make his art acceptable to those who could afford to pay large sums for it, and where there was little if any concern with the education of people in the arts. With the revolution, the title "art academy" became wholly pejorative, for the academy was the antithesis of the new, and especially of the new ideas involving art education and the integration of art, artist, and society. Challenging the academy meant challenging tradition, challenging order, and denying that age validated authority, be it of an art style or an art teacher; it was a challenging of the basic values of the old society by the individuals most capable of giving tangible expression to those values. These young rebels from within the November Group were making an effort to help bring about a significant change in objective and subjective German realities, or at least to keep that quest alive, rather than submitting once again to a passive acceptance of the incompatibility of idealistic hopes with reality and retreating to the world of the intellect. The official rejoinder of the November Group was that the group decision had been made to pursue radical aims in art, and that the pursuit of analogous aims in social and political affairs was solely an individual matter.[62]

As an entity, the November Group had determined to work within the bounds of society as they envisioned it in the months and years after the revolution. Recognizing and accepting traditional economic realities, they concerned themselves with the class that could afford to support them, which apparently meant remaining in line with the existing social structure, dominated by large industrialists after the war even more than before. To pursue what they considered radical aims in art, the majority of November Group members surrendered radical social and political aims. With Expressionism the mode in postwar Germany, the associations that had always been drawn between it and liberal, if not radical, politics,[63] gave the good German citizens the feeling that it was obvious that in their support of Expressionist painters they were also supporting, at the least, a liberal viewpoint in political, economic, and social affairs. By 1922, both large artist associations, the Work-Council for Art and the November Group, ceased to exist as such in the context of socio-political revolutionary processes.

Although desirous of participating in reform, it became evident rather quickly that most artist-intellectuals were unable to aid effectively in construction after the revolution.[64] One smaller but more significant artist association

was founded in April, 1919, in Weimar: Walter Gropius's State Bauhaus persisted throughout its six years in Weimar as a reform-oriented institution, with its efforts to exert a positive force in the construction of a new Germany being steadily thwarted. Nevertheless, the Bauhaus did go further than either the Work-Council for Art or the November Group in attempting to help realize the positive, creative side of revolution in Germany. During the first two years of the Bauhaus's existence, the critical protest raised by the Dada movement in Germany was also kept alive. Taking their cue from what they considered to have been a partial revolution at most, the Dadaists pressed their efforts to do away with the old and prepare for the new. Disappointed by the ineffectuality of the group and generally antagonistic to the idea of being part of a group, the Berlin Dadaists went their separate courses by 1921. That both the Dada movement and the Bauhaus were unable to realize their selected socio-cultural aims was not solely the result of external circumstances. Lack of success indicated, in part, an inadequacy of means in relation to ends, an incompleteness in the reciprocal relationship between artist and society, and the tragic dilemma of the conflict between idealism and realism with which the artist-intellectual was confronted in his efforts to play a meaningful role in the world of social and political affairs.

NOTES

[1] Johannes R. Becher, "Introduction," in *An alle Künstler!* (Berlin, 1919), p. 3.

[2] Kurt Hiller, *Gustav Wyneken's Erziehungslehre und der Aktivismus* (Hannover, 1919), p. 16.

[3] See Will Grohmann, "Zehn Jahre Novembergruppe," *Kunst der Zeit*, III, i-iii (1928), 1-9, and Bernard S. Myers, *The German Expressionists: A Generation in Revolt* (New York, 1957), pp. 172, 178, 275-279.

[4] Concerning the problem of "real" revolution and democratization, see Karl Dietrich Bracher, *Die Auflösung der Weimarer Republik: Eine Studie zum Problem des Machtverfalls in der Demokratie* (Villingen-Black Forest [Schwarzwald], 1960—3rd ed.), pp. 17-18, 22; Kurt Sontheimer, *Antidemokratisches Denken in der Weimarer Republik: Die politischen Ideen des deutschen Nationalismus zwischen 1918 und 1933* (Munich, 1962), p. 18; Walter Tormin, *Zwischen Rätediktatur und sozialer Demokratie: Die Geschichte der Rätebewegung in der deutschen Revolution 1918/1919* (Düsseldorf, 1954), p. 81.

[5] For example, Erich Baron, "Aufbau," in Bruno Taut, *Die Stadtkrone* (Jena, 1919), p. 105; Kurt Hiller, *Der Aufbruch zum Paradies: Sätze* (Munich, 1922), p. 86; Adolf Loos, *Trotzdem 1900-1930, Die Schriften von Adolf Loos,* Vol. II (Innsbruck, 1931), p. 179; F[ritz] H. Ehmcke, *Zur Krisis der Kunst: Ein Beitrag zur Münchener Kunstschulfragen in ihrer symptomatischen Bedeutung für die deutsche Kunsterziehung* (Jena, 1920), p. 22, asserts that it is the artist's duty to establish the basis for a new culture of humanity.

[6] See Fritz Martini, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte von den Anfangen bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, 1965—13th ed.), pp. 382-383; Sokel, *Writer in Extremis*, p. 177; Kasimir Edschmid, "Worte zum Beginn," *Das Tribunal,* I, i (January, 1919), 4; Wilhelm Hausenstein, *Kairuan oder eine Geschichte vom Maler Klee und von der Kunst dieses Zeitalters* (Munich, 1921), p. 108.

[7] Kurt Pinthus, "[Introduction]," in Georg Büchner, *"Friede den Hütten! Krieg den Palästen!,"* ed. K. Pinthus, *Umsturz und Aufbau*—Erste Flugschrift (Berlin, 1919), p. 9.

[8] See Smelser, *Collective Behavior*, pp. 279-281, which deals with "interest-aggregation," when various concerns are lumped together preventing any concentration upon specific reforms, and "interest-articulation," when there is a clear definition of specific aims, an ordering of those aims, and an allocation of resources so as to bring a maximum effort to bear upon those aims individually.

[9] For a theoretical discussion of world-view or ideological politics, see Edward Shils, "Ideology and Civility: On the Politics of the Intellectual," *The Sewanee Review*, Vol. 66, No. 3 (Summer, 1958), 450-453, 475, 477; for a discussion of this political problem in Germany after World War I, see, for example, Werner Conze, "Die deutschen Parteien in der Staatsverfassung vor 1933," in Erich Matthias and Rudolf Morsey, eds., *Das Ende der Parteien, 1933* (Düsseldorf, 1960), pp. 9, 16-17; Thomas Nipperdey, *Die Organisation der deutschen Parteien vor 1918* (Düsseldorf, 1961), pp. 393, 400-401, 403, 405; Bracher, *Auflösung der Weimarer Republik*, p. 150.

[10] An intimation of this attitude may be seen in "Club Dada: Prospekt des Verlags Freie Strasse," *Vorarbeit des Verlags Freie Strasse,* [Siebente Folge], ed. R[aoul] Hausmann, R[ichard] Huelsenbeck, and F[ranz] Jung (Berlin-Charlottenburg, 1918): superimposed

in red upon the black print on pp. 14-15 are the words "Tragic German revolutionary hopes"; more extreme is "Die freie Strasse," *Vorarbeit des Verlags Freie Strasse,* Neunte Folge, ed. [Franz Jung (?) and Raoul Hausmann] (Berlin, 1918), which includes an unsigned article "Against Property!" (pp. [1-2]), with a plea for a human community of individuals; a call for the immediate destruction of existing society ([Raoul Hausmann], "Menschen-[L]eben-Erleben," p. [2]); an essay on "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat" by Karl Radek, p. [3]; and a criticism: "What has happened that is great?"—three responses of "nothing" are followed by "but now something great begins to happen: The intellectual workers are militarized. They receive red shepherd's crooks and children's sabres . . ." (p. 1). Also see Tristan Tzara, *Le Surréalisme et l'après-guerre* (Paris, 1948), p. 21; Walter Gropius, "Der freie Volksstaat und die Kunst" (written in 1918), in Ernst Drahn and Ernst Friedegg, eds., *Deutscher Revolutions-Almanach für das Jahr 1919 über die Ereignisse des Jahres 1918* (Hamburg-Berlin, 1919), p. 134: "*only the completed spiritual revolution can make us free*"; Schreiner, *Republik der Vierzehn Jahre,* p. 139; Kessler, *Tagebücher,* p. 78 (December 22, 1918).

11 See Hermann Herrigel, "Geist und Politik," *Die neue Rundschau,* XXXII, x (October, 1921), 1014; Geiger, *Aufgaben und Stellung,* p. 137; Otto Flake, in *Nein und Ja: Roman des Jahres 1917* (Berlin, 1923), raises the problem of the transformation of reality according to an idea, the apparent conclusion being that Bismarckian blood and iron or a centralized authoritarian state is necessary, and Lauda (representing Hans Arp) wonders what "if these things socialism, the republic, democracy, capitalism, practical questions, are not basic but are symbol[s]?" (p. 58).

12 For example, [Adolf Behne], *Ruf zum Bauen,* Zweite Buchpublikation des Arbeitsrates für Kunst (Berlin, 1920), pp. 5-6.

13 Advertisement, p. 22, following Rudolf Leonhard, "*Kampf gegen die Waffe!,*" *Umsturz und Aufbau*—Dritte Flugschrift (Berlin, 1919).

14 To be noted among these are the *Politische Aktions-Bibliothek,* edited by Franz Pfemfert, 13 vols. (Berlin-Wilmersdorf: Verlag der Wochenschrift "Die Aktion" [Franz Pfemfert], 1916-1930): all but the last two volumes, which were by Trotsky, appeared by 1922, and except for one were strictly political; *Der rote Hahn,* edited by Franz Pfemfert, Vols. 1-59/60 (Berlin-Wilmersdorf, 1917-1925): the books in this series were primarily political and art-political; *Tribüne der Kunst und Zeit: Eine Schriftensammlung,* edited by Kasimir Edschmid, Vols. 1-29 (Berlin: Erich Reiss, 1919-1923): here focus was primarily upon the artist and art in relation to the problems of the day; see Raabe, *literarischen Expressionismus,* pp. 177-179, 185-186. Strictly politically oriented and noteworthy are *Das Flugblatt: Kurze Schriften zur politischen Bildung,* edited by Norbert Einstein, 8 vols. (Frankfurt on the Main: Tiedemann & Uzielli Verlag, 1918), which include Paul Bekker's *Politik und geistige Arbeit;* and *Zur deutschen Revolution: Flugschriften der "Frankfurter Zeitung"* (Frankfurt on the Main: Frankfurter Societäts-Druckerei GmbH, 1919), 5 vols., including Paul Bekker's *Kunst Revolution: Ein Vortrag,* and Max Weber's *Deutschlands künftige Staatsform.*

15 Walter Hasenclever, *Der politische Dichter, Umsturz und Aufbau*—Zweite Flugschrift (Berlin, 1919), p. 23.

16 Paul Mayer, "Vorwort," in George Herwegh, *Reisst die Kreuze aus der Erden! Gedichte, Umsturz und Aufbau*—Sechste Flugschrift (Berlin, 1920), p. 7.

17 Paul Bekker, *Politik und geistige Arbeit, Das Flugblatt,* VI (Frankfurt on the Main, 1918), p. 5; also see Flake, *Nein und Ja,* p. 141.

18 *An alle Künstler!,* p. 11.

19 See C[ecil] M. Bowra, *Poetry & Politics, 1900-1960* (Cambridge, England, 1966), pp. 42-43; one of the best examples is the often-reproduced painting by Franz Marc, "Fate of the Animals [Tierschicksale]" (1913), for example in Schmidt, *Malerei in Deutschland, 1900-1918,* p. 54, but more direct are Ludwig Meidner's "Apocalyptic Landscape" (1912), "I and the City" (1913), and "Revolution" (Battle on the Barricades)" (1913—see illustration, p. 37), all reproduced in Städtische Kunsthalle, Recklinghausen, *Signale-Manifeste-Proteste im 20. Jahrhundert,* Ruhrfestspiele Recklinghausen, 1965, Nos. 176, 177, and 178.

20 Max Pechstein, "Was wir wollen," *An alle Künstler!,* p. 19.

21 Ludwig Meidner, "An alle Künstler, Dichter, Musiker," *An alle Künstler!,* pp. 7-10; also see Meidner's "Bruder, zünd' die Fackel an: Zum Gedächtnis Carl Liebknechts und Rosa Luxemburgs," *Die Erde,* I, iv (February 15, 1919), 115-118.

22 See, for example, Troeltsch, *Spektator-Briefe,* p. 9 ("Das Ende des Militarismus," November 16, 1918); E[dward] H. Carr, *A History of Soviet Russia: The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1923* (New York, 1953), I-III, 139; "Friede-Brot-Arbeit!" Berliner *Lokal-Anzeiger,* No. 170, April 16, 1919 (morning), p. 1.

23 See, for example, Hans Brennert, "Die Strasse von Berlin," in Lothar Brieger and Hanns Steiner, eds., *Zirkus Berlin Bilder Berliner Lebens* (Berlin, [1919 (?)]), p. 66.

24 Paul Landau, "Flugblatt und Flugschrift," in *politische Plakat,* pp. 28-29; also see Behne, "Alte und neue Plakate," in *politische Plakat,* pp. 5, 10; some examples of posters by artists in the November Group, supporting the direction that was apparently being taken in Germany, are the one by Heinrich Richter: a worker points to a sign—"3 words: peaceful demobilization—construction of the republic—peace" and the one by Max Pechstein: a worker is kneeling with a trowel in his hand—"The National Assembly—foundation stone of the German Socialist Republic" (Illustrations No. 7 and No. 8, respectively, in *politische Plakat*).

25 Taut, *Stadtkrone,* pp. 59-60.

26 Herbert Löwing, "Warum sozialistische Propaganda?," in *politische Plakat,* pp. 45-46.

27 For example, the painter Lyonel Feininger, just after having gone to the State Bauhaus in Weimar to teach, wrote to his wife Julia and noted that he had overheard some youths talking about an art exhibit, saying that it was "the spirit behind" the content and not the "how" that was important (Letter of May, [1919], FP, No. 1445-II, p. 10); also see Adolf Behne, *Die Wiederkehr der Kunst* (Leipzig, 1919), p. 48; contrast with the advertisement for J.B. Neumann's Art Gallery, in Drahn and Friedegg, *Deutscher Revolutions-Almanach,* p. 160, which recognizes the need for "unity of thought and action," and Albert Dresdner's assertion that everything depends upon "how" ("Die Zukunft der Künstler," *Deutsche Rundschau,* Vol. 178 [January-March, 1919], p. 139); for a theoretical discussion of symbolic action, see Joseph R. Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement* (Urbana, Illinois, 1963), pp. 179-180.

28 See Eugen Ortner, *Die Intellektuellen und der Sozialismus* (Berlin, 1919), p. 17.

29 Bernhard Kellermann, "Der Schriftsteller und die deutsche Republik," *An alle Künstler!,* pp. 12, 14-15.

30 Kellermann, "Schriftsteller und Republik," *An alle Künstler!,* p. 16.

[31] Hiller, *Wyneken's Erziehungslehre,* p. 3, and *Aufbruch zum Paradies*, p. 91.

[32] For example, Walter Hasenclever depicted Jean Jaurès, the French Socialist leader who was killed in 1914, as the apostle of a world made better through the efforts of all men to be human, an achievement that required Jaurès: "Jaurès' Auferstehung," *An alle Künstler!*, pp. 23-24.

[33] W[ieland] Herzfelde, [Review of] "Johannes R. Becher: 'An Europa,' 'Verbrüderung,' Gedichte (Kurt Wolff Verlag)," *Neue Jugend* (Monatsschrift), I, vii (July, 1916), 142-143; for an excerpt from a later poem by Becher, see above, p. 23.

[34] For example, see Troeltsch, *Spektator-Briefe*, p. 55 ("Die Aufnahme der Friedensbedingungen," May 23, 1919).

[35] For further discussion of the problem of artist-intellectuals and power, see below, pp. 162-164.

[36] See above, p. 24.

[37] Flyer, *Arbeitsrat für Kunst,* Berlin ([1918? or early in 1919]), p. 2, SG, SB Film No. 2, BD; the leaders of the Work-Council were Walter Gropius, César Klein, and Adolf Behne; the active participants included Erich Heckel, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, Emil Nolde (these three had been members of "The Bridge"), the sculptor Georg Kolbe, and the architect Bruno Taut; the Work-Council's circle of friends included prominent art dealers and museum directors. To the first business committee had been elected, among others, Gerhard Marcks, and to the second Lyonel Feininger, both of whom were among the first artists requested by Gropius to teach in the Bauhaus (see below, p. 54).

[38] See, for example, Adolf Allwohn, "Die Architektur im sozialistischen Zeitalter," *Freiheit* (Berlin), July 9, 1921 (photocopy, BD) who characterized the change as from the "*individual human being* to the *community*," from the "*individual art* to *architecture*"; for a consideration of architecture as a social art, see Gotshalk, *Art and Social Order,* pp. 206-207, and Radhakamal Mukerjee, *The Social Function of Art* (Bombay, 1951—2nd ed.), pp. 231, 249-251.

[39] See Hildebrandt, *Expressionismus*, p. 11; Max Osborn, "Neue Wege der bildenden Kunst: III. Die Lage von Heute," *Deutsche Rundschau,* Vol. 183 (April-June, 1920), p. 126.

[40] Certainly an intellectual anarchist (see Taut's *Die Auflösung der Städte oder Die Erde eine gute Wohnung oder auch: Der Weg zur Alpinen Architektur* [Hagen i(n) Westphalia), 1920], and especially the section devoted to quotations), Taut was not dogmatically so and has been referred to as the best mirror of the ideas then current in Germany among artist-intellectuals (Banham, *Theory and Design,* p. 265); in fact, he does seem to have drawn all those ideas together and magnified them, as is suggested by his writings of 1919 and 1920, for example, *Stadtkrone, Auflösung der Städte, Der Weltbaumeister; Architektur Schauspiel für symphonische Musik,* and the correspondence in the Berlin Academy of Arts catalogue *Die gläserne Kette: Visionäre Architektur aus dem Kreis um Bruno Taut, 1919-1920* (Walter Gropius participated in this group for a short time). A partial explanation of Taut's concern with fantastic architecture lies in his belief in the stimulus power of fantasy, the quest for a transcendent goal and unifying bond, and the desire to take advantage of every possibility in the existing situation for building anew.

[41] Baron, "Aufbau," in Taut, *Stadtkrone*, p. 107.

[42] Adolf Behne, *Wiederkehr der Kunst,* pp. 76, 83; also see the advertisement for *Bauen*,

Eine Zeitschrift, to be edited by Behne (Berlin [1919?], p. 4.

43 See, for example, Hans Sedlmayr, *Verlust der Mitte: Die bildende Kunst des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts als Symptom und Symbol der Zeit* (Frankfurt on the Main, 1958), p. 14.

44 Walter Gropius in *Ja! Stimmen des Arbeitsrates für Kunst in Berlin* (Charlottenburg, 1919), pp. 31-32.

45 Gropius, *Ja! Stimmen*, p. 32.

46 See above, p. 10.

47 Gropius, *Ja! Stimmen*, pp. 32-33.

48 Walter Gropius, "Was ist Baukunst?," in the catalogue for the Arbeitsrat für Kunst's "Exhibit for Unknown Architects," Berlin, April, 1919, p. [2] (in SG, SB Film No. 2, BD), speaks of "the creative conception of the Cathedral of the Future," which was also a symbol for and of the Bauhaus community, intended as one of the small, model communities.

49 Taut in *Ja! Stimmen*, pp. 101-102.

50 For a consideration of the artist's feeling of responsibility, and the idea of the artist as human being, see, for example, Paul Bekker, *Kunst und Revolution: Ein Vortrag, Zur deutschen Revolution*, 5 (Frankfurt on the Main, 1919), pp. 11-13.

51 For example, Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *Art Under a Dictatorship* (New York, 1954), p. 20.

52 See Rosenberg, *Imperial Germany*, pp. 94, 101-102; also see above, pp. 3-4.

53 Arbeitsrat für Kunst, "Protokoll der Sitzung," May 30, 1921, 2 pp., BD; "Auflösung des 'Berliner Arbeitsrats für Kunst,'" *Der Cicerone*, XIII, xv/xvi (1921), 449.

54 Walter Gropius, "[Notes for a Meeting of the Work-Council for Art]," n.p., n.d. [1919?], pp. 2-3, SG, BD.

55 [Walter Gropius], "Gesichtspunkte für Kunstausstellungen," [1918?], p. 1 (typewritten with handwritten corrections), SG, BD.

56 See Selz, *German Expressionist Painting*, p. 313, and see above, p. 24 and p. 35 n. 3.

57 See above, p. 24-25.

58 For an explanation of "cosmic communism," see Freundlich's letter to the November Group of February 2, 1919, in Diether Schmidt, ed., *Manifeste, Manifeste: 1905-1933* (Dresden, [1965(?)]), pp. 182-183; also see Szittya's characterization of Freundlich as a vacillating extremist: *Kuriositäten-Kabinett*, p. 107.

59 Otto Freundlich, "Absage," *Die Erde*, I, xxiv (December15, 1919), 686.

60 Freundlich, ibid., p. 687.

61 "Offener Brief an der Novembergruppe," *Der Gegner*, II, viii/ix (1920-1921), 297-298; other signers of the letter included Otto Dix, a sometimes associate of the Dadaists and a leading artist among the critical, hyper-analytical "Neue Sachlichkeit" painters,

and Rudolf Schlichter, a contributor to the (initially Dadaist-dominated) *Pleite* and the most active artist for the satirical Communist monthly *Der Knüppel.*

62 Novembergruppe, "Antwort," *Der Gegner,* III, i (March, 1922), 30.

63 For example, Dresdner, "Kunstleben" (January-March, 1920), p. 305, and see above, p. 29; the association of art and politics was also taken to extremes, which was later to become meaningful, with the equating of Expressionism with Bolshevism: for example, Benno Diederich, *Bolschewismus und Expressionismus* (Hamburg, 1921), and Siegfried Doerschlag, *Bolschewismus, Idealismus und Kultur* (Berlin, 1921).

64 One of the most striking instances of this inability was that of the author Ernst Toller, who participated in the revolutionary Council Government of Munich in 1918-1919: see his *Eine Jugend in Deutschland* ([Reinbek bei Hamburg], 1963), esp. pp. 88-94, 96, 109-110.

CHAPTER III

POSSIBILITIES, PROCLIVITIES, AND THE POVERTY OF IDEALISM. DADA AND THE BAUHAUS: AN OVERVIEW

In the Berlin Art Gallery of J.B. Neumann on the thirtieth of April, 1919, Richard Huelsenbeck read a Dada Proclamation. A "simultaneous poem"—a poem, in this instance, of seven parts read concurrently—was presented as one aspect of "mechanical Dada." Raoul Hausmann spoke on the "Automobile of the Soul," and the Russian-born painter and graphic artist Jefim Golyscheff performed a three-part "Anti-symphony," a "musical circle guillotine." At the conclusion of the program, note was made of a huge propaganda evening to be held May 15, which was to feature Hausmann's considerations "Of the New, Free Germany" and a six-day race between a typewriter and a sewing machine, a variation on the then very popular six-day bicycle races held in the Berlin Sports Palace. The May 15 date was subsequently changed to May 24, "on account of national mourning," most likely in response to the lenient verdicts dealt out on May 14 to the soldiers responsible for the deaths of the Spartacist leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.[1] At least one Berlin newspaper's art critic responded favorably to the Dada Evening. "... Dada is less meaningful as an artistic movement than as a cultural, human-political [movement]. Every movement challenging the torpid and superficial is important . . . *every artist* is a Dadaist . . . in so far as he has the courage to be what nature has made him," an individual seeking freedom for his creativity and consideration for himself as a human being.[2]

Even before the above-noted performances, most of the Communist uprisings in Germany had been suppressed and Kurt Eisner, President of the Bavarian Republic, had been assassinated; on May 1, 1919, the Bavarian Soviet Republic, less than one month old, was overthrown. The revolution that had apparently rent Germany was over, but the Dadaists continued revolution on an artistic and intellectual plane. To them, it seemed that the "real" revolution had not yet occurred, and in 1919 they still had every intention of persisting in their efforts to help bring it about. To this end, in addition to pre-revolution public Dada performances on April 12 and in June, 1918, there were events held on April 30, May 24, December 7, and December 15, 1919, in Berlin, in the Spring of 1920 in Dresden, Leipzig, Teplitz-Schonau, and Prague, and the Summer of 1920 was the time of the "First International Dada Fair" in Berlin.[3]

In April, 1919, there began the distribution of a small leaflet entitled "Program and Manifesto of the State Bauhaus in Weimar." On its cover was a wood-cut print of a cathedral by the Expressionist painter Lyonel Feininger.[4]

The ideas presented in the leaflet were not new:[5] artists should be educated to a full understanding of the materials with which they worked; artists should be brought to realize that little separated them from handicraftsmen; the goal of socially-oriented art was the "great building," the "Cathedral of the Future," a total work of art for the realization of which all the arts would be combined, with artists forming a working community devoted to a common goal.[6] But with the announced combining of the Saxon Academy of Fine Arts and the Saxon School of Applied Arts to form the State Bauhaus,[7] Walter Gropius initiated the experiment in art and education for which many socially-concerned artist-intellectuals in Germany had long clamored. This experiment was a pedagogical reaction against the techniques of the "false academic sciences," a moral reaction against the recent misdeeds of the "civilization of the machine,"[8] and an aesthetic and pragmatic revolt against the "drab, hollow, and meaningless [architectural] fakeries" of the day.[9] In the Bauhaus, the artist-craftsman was to be educated as a total human being: for him, as for everyone else, real freedom would first come with the "completed spiritual revolution."[10] Assuming that the destructive work of the revolution had in fact been essentially completed, Gropius directed his attention to the other major aspect of the revolutionary process, to the constructive efforts necessary to give it positive meaning. A reforming, evolutionary course had to be embarked upon in order to develop, publicize, and inculcate new values,[11] which would give substance to a new politics and a new society. At the same time, there was an awareness in the Bauhaus of a continuing need to discourage old prejudices, freeing the individual to develop and to assimilate new values for himself. To this end, major emphasis was placed upon the school's Introductory Course that was put under the direction of the Swiss-born painter and pedagogue Johannes Itten.[12] The Dadaists were destructive, the Bauhaus constructive, and the German people were neither prepared for nor willing to accept either.

Dada and the Bauhaus: A Comparison

It is coincidental that at about the same time as the first Russian Revolution in March, 1917, Richard Huelsenbeck returned to Berlin from Zurich. His activities in Zurich had centered around the Café Voltaire, located on the same street where Lenin lived while in that Swiss city. Huelsenbeck brought back to Germany with him the term "Dada," which served as the focal point for several unlikeminded individuals[13] who, along with many other German artist-intellectuals, agreed upon the need for revolution in their country. Acknowledging the first major step in a total transformation of society to be the destruction of the old value system, such destruction became the Dadaists' major concern. Convinced that the events of 1918-1919 were but superficial incidents in a mockery of revolution, born without conception or gestation, and

lacking roots, Dada created an after-life of the revolution.

Complementary to Dada, though undoubtedly established before the Dadaists thought the time propitious, was the Bauhaus. At least a part of the overall concern of the new school was with filling the value void that the artist-intellectuals and students who came to the Bauhaus assumed to have been created by revolutionary destruction; in fact, the artist-intellectuals who were to teach in the Bauhaus had previously recognized German values as non-values, and apparently hoped to find affirmation and support for their own values in the new artist community, regardless of the total German society. Through a new architecture would be conveyed the modernized spirit, imagined though it may have been, of the age of cathedrals: the most social of arts, embodying and objectifying the unity of art and life, would make a social reality of the spirit of unity and its implicit values of humane rationalism, brotherhood, and internationalism.[14] Both the Dada movement and the Bauhaus were concerned with creating new values for a democratic republic, and with making a concern for values a significant part of life for every German.

Consideration of Dada and the Bauhaus must take some account of the structural nature of both. The Dadaist Club, outside of specific titles adopted by the individuals involved and indicative of assumed roles (Huelsenbeck, as leader, was named "Weltdada" ["World-Dada"], George Grosz: "Propagandada" and "Dada Marshall," Raoul Hausmann: "Dadasoph," Johannes Baader: "Oberdada" ["Chief Dada"], John Heartfield: "Monteur-Dada" ["Montage (from photomontage) Dada"], and Walter Mehring: "Pipidada"), was structureless; the Dadaists were opposed to all organization as such, and it was their free cooperation in certain activities that validates consideration of them as a group. It also presents a focal point for the analysis of various individuals, and emphasizes that Dada was not only a collection of individual aberrations, but to a degree represented a more general attitude. In contrast, as a school, the Bauhaus had need of some formal structuring; but formal structure alone makes for no more than superficial unity. The views of Gropius, as founder and director, may be considered as those of the school, but not as those of each individual in the school. The men he called to the Bauhaus as teachers were aware of the aims of the school, and their willingness to accept implied, in part, concurrence in those aims. Conflicting loyalties of the individual to himself and to the group created a degree of constant tension, and representations of the Bauhaus and Dada as groups are ideal constructs. The greatest strength and the greatest weakness of both lay in the extreme individualism of the participants, the basis for enormous creative possibilities and, at the same time, group disintegration. Individuals had come together, on their own initiative or in free response to the requests of others, to act in a concerted way for some purpose. To varying degrees and for varying lengths of time, they subordinated their individualism to group efforts on behalf of that purpose.

In light of the above, the Dadaists are better considered as a "movement," rather than as a group. Only in their activities was there any significant cohesiveness, and group activities were relatively few. Dada was not structured, had no specified means whereby to achieve certain goals, and no clearly defined goal except the very general (and temporary) aim of overthrowing all that smacked of philistinism in German society, which they believed would in itself be a positive improvement. Alone, the Dada movement had no hope of initiating changes in German society, and only on behalf of a negative aim did the participants act together. On the other hand, the Bauhaus was an institution in almost every sense of the term, except perhaps for the attitudes of its members towards it and its uncertain role in society. There was a very definite structure based upon written rules and regulations. There were positive goals in addition to the long-range and crucial utopian one of the "Cathedral of the Future," which were the realizable goals of educating artists and architects, seeking a new involvement of artists with the world—as a part of the world—and establishing a model of community, cooperation, and internationalism. These goals were to be effected with socially legitimate means, that is, in ways theoretically acceptable to society as it was, although there was no guarantee that no effort would be made to change society, which was in fact a very important aim for the Bauhaus, implicit in all else that was to be done.

Another considerable distinction between Dada and the Bauhaus was the free-lance nature of the Dadaists and the rootedness of the artist-intellectuals in the Bauhaus. The latter, through association with the school, had economic security, to a greater degree than that enjoyed even by the established artists among them, and might be expected to limit their activities so as not to endanger that security. The members of the Bauhaus could also expect support for their beliefs and hopes from their colleagues and from at least sectors of society. In contrast, the free-lance nature of the Dadaist and his revolutionary stance reinforced one another: apart from and opposed to the existing social and political structures, he might join or sympathize with revolutionary organizations, thereby affiliating himself with groups that were themselves in opposition and gaining support for his own alienation from society.

The natures of the two groups and the characteristics and abilities of the individuals involved determined the courses of action in which they acquiesced and were to pursue. Common opposition had influenced individuals to come together and form the Dada Club; some degree of common approval for a positive goal had led individuals to join the Bauhaus. The nemeses of the Dadaists as a group proved to be individualism, a change in the nature of the socio-political situation from revolutionary instability to relative stability, and a desire to act positively. The nemeses of the Bauhaus were to be individualism and a very real conflict between individual and group, and external opposition to its positive efforts. Around both there existed to some extent an aura of

ambiguity, a reality of life as a process, which neither group wished to exchange for an artificial stability.

Dada and the Constructiveness of Destruction

The significance of Dada lay in its relationship to society, which makes the movement understandable and meaningful. If Dada is in fact indefinable, as many critics and art historians suggest, then the Dadaists have made their point: in its indefinability it would be comparable to life. The Dadaists posed the question: "What is Dada? An art? A philosophy? (a form of politics?) Fire insurance? or: State religion? is Dada really energy, or is it nothing, i.e., everything?"[15] Merely to say that Dada was a revolutionary movement seeking to destroy old values may be generally meaningful, but it is specifically meaningless. Their stunts, for the most part without meaning in and of themselves, were expressions of the age as interpreted by the Dadaists; it is through the relationship of those stunts to the age that may be found the meaning in meaninglessness and the sense in nonsense.[16]

Dada was not the type of reaction to the age as had been and was Expressionism, attacking and rejecting as the latter did with a turn to complete subjectivity, but was primarily a response to the passive participation of Germans in the society, politics, and culture of the age. It was sufficiently difficult to cope with life and the world when employing all of one's powers; it was erroneous to attempt to do so dependent entirely upon either reason or feelings,[17] and it was utter nonsense to allow others to act for you. But such had been done with enthusiasm in August, 1914, with the acceptance of the declarations of war, for whatever rationalizations. Nevertheless, there slowly developed a reaction to the war in various circles. In this reaction, to a heightened and more generalized degree, participated the Dadaists in Berlin, as had their counterparts in Zurich, revealing concern with the war and its implications.

Extrablatter fliegen hoch! Friede
Im Westen regnets Granaten
Und zerfetzte Soldaten
Im Pavillon Mascotte wird viel Sekt konsumiert
Heimlich tanzt Lieschen im Kunstclub—
GESTEIGERTE TURBULENZ DER WELT!
rede UND Gegenrede!
!!MUT: den widersinn des daseins zu BEJAHEN!!
!! den GIGANTISCHEN Weltenunsinn!!
Gelang vom Hinterteil der Welt![18]

Special [newspaper] editions fly high! Peace
In the West rain down grenades
And hacked-up soldiers
Much champagne is drunk in the Mascotte Pavilion
Little Lisa dances secretly at the Art Club—

INTENSIFIED TURBULENCE OF THE WORLD!
confirm AND Deny!
!! COURAGE: to AFFIRM the absurdity of existence!!
!! [To affirm] the GIGANTIC nonsense of the universe!!
Accomplished by the rear-end of the world!

Much is suggested in this placard composed by George Grosz: while some people fight and are destroyed, those benefiting take part in the luxuries society has to offer; in the face of this reality, one must have the courage to accept (perhaps insupportable) contradictions as a part of life, and by acting affirm the existence of sense in nonsense. In their acts and intentions, the Dadaists postulated a course of action capitalizing upon contradictions and the concomitant ambiguity that required finding or creating meaning by and for one's self, as opposed to accepting meaning.

In addition to the group in Berlin, there were other Dadaist manifestations in Germany, in the cities of Cologne and Hannover. Only in Berlin, though, did Dada assume an extremely general and actively revolutionary cast. There the concern was with life in its totality, not merely as the life of the artist: art and politics were both only aspects of life. In contrast, the Dadaists in Cologne tried to maintain a line of demarcation between art and politics, and Kurt Schwitters in Hannover was essentially apolitical and outwardly very bourgeois, a Dadaist in establishment clothing.[19] The Dada movement in Berlin was a cultural movement in all its denotative and connotative meanings; its chosen mission was to smash the "cultural ideology of the Germans."[20]

Encompassed in Berlin Dada's generalized response to the war was its reaction to and expression of man as he was affected by the conditions accompanying war. The situation in the German capital had worsened steadily during the course of the war. Supplies of raw materials and food had diminished as the English blockade took its toll, and the quantities of food were further reduced as the number of farm workers declined in proportion to the increase in calls to military service. Especially when it became evident that food rations were not to be increased following the difficult winter of 1916-1917, strikes broke out in Berlin, affecting among other things weapons and munitions factories. This was the only means for expressing dissatisfaction; tied in with immediate demands for food and peace was a subordinate quest for political reform.[21] A significant change in the city's appearance struck Huelsenbeck upon his return after about one year's absence, a change made all the more striking when contrasted with Zurich, from where he came. Material conditions and human loss had taken its toll. Here one was concerned with war as something very real, not as some distant horror to which one reacted on the basis of ideals and visions; here people were a part of the war, regardless of their willingness to be so or not. The situation in Berlin, the major focus of revolutionary activities in 1918-1919 and the center of art in Germany, coupled with the persuasions

of the individuals participating in Dada there and their concern with life in its totality, set the course of social and political involvement.[22]

Initial opposition to the war by those who were to participate in the Dada movement was not particularly marked until after they had themselves experienced war in some way.[23] Subsequent concern was not so much with the inhumanity and meaninglessness of war itself, as with the more basic problem of what creates war. The Dadaists, along with many other artist-intellectuals, considered the irrationalism of war as the culmination of the rationalism of the nineteenth century: adherence to logic and morality exclusively in the sphere of the ideal led to illogic and immorality in the sphere of the real. Values uncritically maintained had made it possible for war to occur; considered, as they were, as absolutes unrelated to objective reality, those values were necessarily unimpeachable. It was not the aim of the Dadaists "to destroy logic and replace it with irrationality";[24] this the German had already accomplished—or, at least and as invalidly, he had detached logic from understanding. Rather, they hoped to make it evident that the life of man was not and could not be rooted solely in logic and blind obedience.[25] Responsible for Germany's part in the war, the extant system had also been responsible for the Socialists' denying their own credo by voting war credits and embracing the nation, and for an increasingly needed revolution that would bring about the far-reaching changes not possible of realization within the existing system.

Dadaist iconoclasm was intended to stimulate an awareness of the logical implications of a value system accepted without question, and to evoke a conscious acceptance of responsibility for one's own actions. Carried out primarily on a symbolic level, the destructive activities of the Dadaists also had a cathartic effect. Lacking the means with which to affect values directly, they directed their attention to influencing others to act. At the same time, the frustrations stemming from ineffectiveness, both in affecting values and other people, required alleviation, which was to some extent realized by symbolic destruction, and indicated by their ability to laugh at their own activities as Dadaists. Proper perspectives could be retained only while they were able to reflect smilingly upon their involvement with the problems of the day. When life is declared absurd and meaningless, and is still treated in a completely serious manner, one is confronted with a dilemma threatening the self with destruction. Able to laugh at themselves, and thus freer to act spontaneously and react flexibly than would have been the case had they lacked this ability, the Dadaists accordingly desired to help the German free himself by injecting much-needed humor into a humorless population.[26] But catharsis and humor were not meant to eliminate the need to increase opposition to the extant value system that maintained an artificial and imposed life situation in Germany. Yet there certainly existed precisely that possibility: audiences participating vicariously in cathartic acts might find such participation sufficient to quell any desire to

act themselves, the need for doing so being no longer vital. Furthermore, any guilt feelings stemming from their non-action might be assuaged through a passive (and grateful) acceptance of Dadaist attacks against them: "Dada kicks you in the behind and you like it."[27] The response of audiences to Dada performances might be knowing laughter, as the Dadaists sought, or silent concern, the criticism being taken as challenges to irremediable facts of life. But there might also be responses of laughter without understanding[28] to attacks upon the strong and indestructible foundations of German society, and of anger at the disrespect for those same foundations, which might lead to attempts at hindering Dadaist presentations.[29] Anger might also indicate a total lack of understanding for Dada, and thus be an expression of fear in the face of a sensed threat to certainty and security, the certainty and security that accompanies familiarity with a society and its values and fear before the threat that freedom might afford.[30] None of these attitudes were a danger to Dada, in that none would completely negate Dadaist efforts. The danger for Dada lay in being grasped as a "non-conformist farce" by the "playboys,"[31] in being embraced as a fad and regarded as a moment of comic relief, bound to be ephemeral and insignificant regardless of any grains of truth it might contain. Once so treated, Dada would be relegated to a role as guilt appeaser, and its criticisms would be confined to being merely symbolic: Dada without claws that drew blood would no longer be Dada.[32]

In seeking to overthrow the old value system that they saw persisting after the revolution, the Dadaists hoped to make freedom a reality in Germany. For them, freedom meant accepting ambiguity, and the "inherent ambiguity of every Dada thought and act"[33] guaranteed the possibility for maintaining individuality and spontaneity in action. This attitude suggests some significance to be found in the Dadaist sound and simultaneous poems. Sound poems involved the recitation of syllables and sonants with "appropriate" rhythm, and were intended to arouse responses without the intermediacy of a definite and artificially restrictive vocabulary.[34] Simultaneous poems, based upon the reading of different verses at the same time and the effects of contingency and contradiction, emphasized that it was only intellectual differentiation that ordered events occurring at a given time and made acceptable sense of a conglomeration of concurrent phenomena. But life was not to be approached as an intellectual construct, and the confused disorder of reality was far preferable to the clarity that stems from order and death. Both ambiguity and ambivalence were basic to life and reality, and were points at issue for the Berlin Dadaists as they went beyond aesthetics and confronted life without either a definite code of action or collective value priorities.[35] They attacked accepted practices in politics, religion, art, and morality, and protested the hypocritical advocacy of traditional values. At the same time, the Dadaists did adhere to certain values, including individualism, freedom, and self-responsibility. In this sense, Dada was

very positively oriented, and strongly affirmed the belief that man, although he might at the time not be, had the potential of becoming the measure and measurer of all things. The disavowal of all system was the avowal of the free and creative individual,[36] man before the Fall or the myth of the Fall: for the Dadaists, man had authored his own fall and could author his own resurrection.

In this context, the concluding line of the Dadaist Manifesto of 1918, which appeared before the revolution in November, can be understood: "To be against this manifesto means to be a Dadaist," [37] a necessary though not sufficient condition. The Dada stance was for "every man to lead his own life,"[38] and in its title the periodical *Everyone His Own Football (Jedermann sein eigener Fussball)*, of which only one number appeared in February, 1919, was most indicative of the position advocated by the Dadaists. The only possible group goal was freedom, conceivable as such only in the context of a revolutionary situation. A condition of constant fluctuation would allow the Dadaists to walk the line between certainty and determinism on the one side and uncertainty and indeterminism on the other. Envisioning and then observing the efforts to maintain a posture of ambiguity, Hans Arp had referred to Dada as "a revolt of the unbelieving against the non-believing."[39] Equating non-believers with believers, as two variations on a single type characterized by unmoving certainty and other-directed conformity, one has another picture of the Germans against whom the Dadaists revolted, preferring to risk the hazards of uncertainty and insecurity for the future that they might have the greatest freedom to form their own lives.[40]

With their regard for freedom and life, Dadaist emphasis was placed upon existence rather than essence, becoming rather than being, and acting rather than proclaiming, although they certainly did their share of proclaiming. The Dadaists might be considered as existentialists after a fashion, but with no strict classification as such.[41] They were determined to take up "the actual struggle with life" that the philistine bourgeoisie had so ignominiously refused or relinquished,[42] hopeful that the bourgeoisie might eventually be led to drink. This problem was compounded by a Dadaist recognition and acceptance of the "complete idiocy [absurdity] of the world"[43] and an essential meaninglessness in the idea of improving the human condition.[44] One's life was neither composed of nor justified by goals and the results of action, but by action itself, and it was his inaction that in great part defined the German intellectual and artist-intellectual.[45] It was not a question of so-called "correct" or "proper" action, which would depend upon judging an action either on the basis of an absolute transcending both the individual and his action or the results of that action and that might stifle an individual's desire to act or limit his freedom and action, but a question rather of action stemming from an individual's entire being. Moreover, the individual's conscious action was not to be considered and carried out in terms of accomplishment or success; it was a matter of "creative

indifference," a concept applicable to both life and art,[46] characterized by its development from within the individual in a self-critical light and forming the basis for a transcending of the individual. "Creative indifference" was a part of the Dadaist attitude, and, accordingly, they would not as a group consciously cooperate with self-righteous reforming activists such as Kurt Hiller.[47] Nevertheless, their efforts, if at all successful in the stimulating of concern and responsibility on the part of Germans, would have complemented those of the activists, who were trying to influence the creation of a responsible and responsive government.[48]

As a group, the Dadaists took a negative stand in relation to the question of activism, but as individuals they were ambivalent towards it and were in a quandary. From the inception of their common activities, only the eccentric Baader had taken a positive and decidedly activist stand, convinced of his mission as a new Christ on earth,[49] and in this belief somewhat apart from the Dadaist position. The others, opposed to positive group action vis-à-vis sociopolitical construction, created works of art that in themselves were positive statements and, even if not intended as means of communication, did show a concern with society and with man in the modern world. Raoul Hausmann and Hannah Höch, the one woman actively associated with the Berlin Dadaists and a friend also of Kurt Schwitters, took items stemming from and related in some way to machines and technology and used them as the bases for collages, photomontages, and Dada objects; by combining those items in a way that no machine could, they asserted man's need and ability to control technology, which were rooted in human values, and which were given climactic expression in Kurt Schwitters' "Merz-Paintings" and his massive, constantly growing "Merz-Construction."[50] A more specific purpose was served by the photomontages—pictures composed from parts of various photographs—developed in 1916 by John Heartfield and George Grosz, that being as a means to circumvent wartime censorship; later, they were also used effectively to make specific social and political points, as the photomoneur used recognizable faces and placed them into selected contexts.[51] Through their artistic work, on various levels, the Dadaists revealed their concern with a better world, to be achieved without the intermediary actions of society and government as they existed; the most necessary changes involved individuals, and would only be hindered by the continued existence of a war society and government antithetical to those changes. In the Dadaist periodicals: *New Youth (Neue Jugend), Everyone his own Football (Jedermann sein eigener Fussball), Der Dada, Merz,* and *Bloody Seriousness (Der blutige Ernst),* and in those periodicals to which the Dadaists contributed, their social and political views are most clearly stated.[52] And regardless of assertions they made to the contrary, in order to attain their ends, the Dadaists did try to make use of some accepted means, which somewhat undermined the force of their revolutionary efforts. They created an

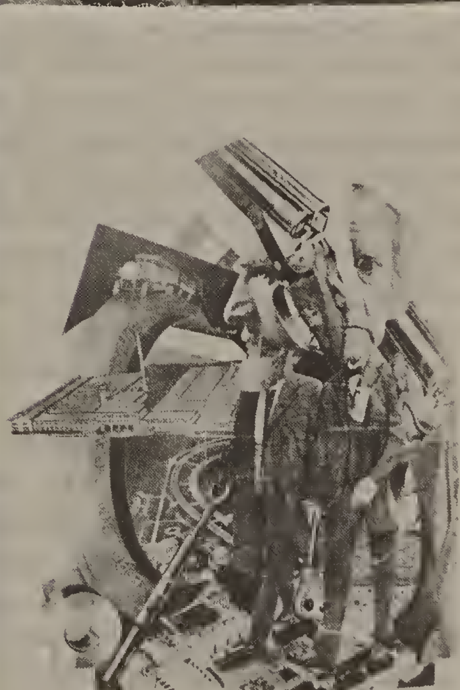
Illustration 2

Upper left: Raoul Hausmann, "Mechanical Head," (Dada object), 1919/1920
Upper right: Kurt Schwitters, "Merz-Painting," (25a.), 1920
Lower left: Raoul Hausmann, "Head" or "Gurk," (Collage), 1918
Lower right: Hannah Höch, "High Finance," (Photomontage), 1923









afterlife of the revolution in an effort to rekindle hopes that were being snuffed out by reality; Dada was an embracing of this world in order to change it through its inhabitants, but the Germans had already had their fill of revolution and transformation.

As much or more than anything else, most of the Dadaists were torn by the conflict of wanting to preserve a completely individualistic stand while influencing others, which meant relinquishing what was not understandable to the public, or working with other groups in addition to Dada, which were trying to cope with the problem of communication. In this way, the Dadaists could continue their direct confrontation with ambiguity and would not defeat themselves by a refusal to distinguish between the public and the private person. A plurality of associations would ensure an openness in action for these artist-intellectuals to parallel their mental openness, and would increase the chances for effectiveness of their actions. But such was not the case for the Dadaists as a group, and this lack contributed to the disintegration of the bonds that had held them together. Conflicting desires for freedom and for security, especially when confidence in freedom is not sufficiently internalized, hesitancy in selecting a definite course of action because of doubts concerning the outcome, perhaps to the point of complete inactivation following this un-Dadaist consideration, and the difficulties created by a clash with existing social values and norms all helped to make the Dadaist position difficult to maintain. Moreover, only in a revolutionary situation was the Dadaist posture truly endurable and promising of results: when that situation waned, those who were dedicated to action turned to more traditional means in varying degrees.

Wieland Herzfelde, John Heartfield, and Franz Jung joined with the Communists to advocate revolution, assured by the model of the Soviet Union in the (very un-Dadaist) certainty of this course.[53] On the other hand, skepticism and devotion to the concept of freedom decided George Grosz and Walter Mehring against joining any political organizations. At the same time, until rather late in the 'twenties, Grosz did sympathize with the Communists, and had drawings published in *Bankruptcy (Die Pleite)* and *The Truncheon (Der Knüppel)*, a *Satirical Workers' Newspaper,* both of which were Communist-oriented. In November, 1920, Grosz wrote an essay "To My New Paintings," wherein he commented upon his role as a social critic, desirous of aiding in the attainment of Communism and the realization of a community of workers.[54] Mehring, meanwhile, resumed the traditional stance of the artist-intellectual as a critic of society and its values; for him, Dada had been little more than a radicalization of the critic's role. His concern was now focused upon participation in the development of acceptable socio-political forms, and in the clarification of the role of the artist-intellectual, whose highest duties Mehring saw as being "to tell the truth, to propagate human rights, [and] to clear away prejudices and dogmas," by any means.[55] Both Grosz and Mehring were pre-

pared to and did pursue criticism of existing evils, but neither was absolutely certain of what should be done in constructing a new Germany, in contrast to their three former cohorts.

Especially for Grosz and Mehring, Dada seems to have been important as a means of catharsis, helping them to reach an accommodation with their disappointment at the failure of revolution to live up to their ideal conceptions. Thus, Mehring was able to accept the fact that his songs, directed to achieving certain ends, failed to initiate changes and fell far short of conjuring up a revolution.[56] Singing such songs was the only action he was able to perform on his own, and it was his symbolic expression of a social and psychological necessity. Any influence exerted by his songs would have to be through political activists. Grosz, too, unresignedly for the time being, accepted reality, and in his awareness continued to be "the saddest man in Europe,"[57] but his sadness and his complaints were his art, a meaningful art of socio-political satire and criticism.[58]

The best of all possible worlds was the world between, the world of ambiguity and choice, in which one could continue to criticize the old and discuss and live with visions of a possible new, unthreatened by the oppressive reality of the probable new. But such was also the most difficult position to remain in, and even Raoul Hausmann, outspoken as an anarchist of sorts at the time, was one of the most active of the Dadaists, among other things making trips for Dada presentations to Dresden, Leipzig, and Prague in 1920, and was a leader of the radical faction in the November Group.[59] Not one of the participants in the Berlin Dada group was able to persevere as an "ideal" Dadaist, but that in itself would have been a denial of the insistence that Dada was for "every man to lead his own life." Allegiance was maintained to certain aspects of the Dadaist stance, and they proved themselves to be individuals and not types, human beings and not rule-bound automatons.

Confronted by the dilemma of acting in this world in a positive way, or remaining apart from the world through adherence to a dogmatic individualism, unconcerned with the reactions to one's creations, and perceiving the untenability of a position between the two, the Dadaists had to make their choices as individuals. Opting for activism would have meant a designation of the human being as preceding the artist; retreat and withdrawal would have been an assertion of the precedence of artist to the human being. In lieu of Dada in Berlin came activity or retirement from society, both in the traditional sense; Dada as a movement did not die, but was transcended. A stance of aggressive ambiguity had been adhered to so long as it seemed that something meaningful might result were all Germans to have a free choice in the formation of the future. In this sense, Dada lived long beyond its days in Germany; its high point and essential end came with the "International Dada Fair" held in Berlin in the Summer of 1920. None of the Berlin Dadaists attended the Dadaist-Constructivist Congress that met in Weimar in 1922. For Dada, contact with the public had

been essential, and the lack of positive response emphasized the hopelessness of the Dadaists' quest. In contrast, the State Bauhaus, which opened in Weimar in the Spring of 1919, made no formal public appearance until the Summer of 1923. Although methods and goals were changed, the Bauhaus was concerned with education and permissiveness essential to experimentation and the development of new means and new ends to accord with the role to be played by the artist-intellectual in a new Germany. Walter Gropius opposed holding any exhibition before he judged the time proper,[60] but that time never really arrived, and the school was virtually forced to exhibit prematurely. Accomplishments were realized, although in the end both time and freedom were denied the Bauhaus.

The Bauhaus and the Threat of Construction

Fully imbued with the idealistic longings of the German artist-intellectual and a former participant in the "Storm Group" and the Work-Council for Art, the American-born Expressionist Lyonel Feininger designed a cathedral for the cover of the first Bauhaus brochure.[61] With its soaring vertical lines, which are repeated again and again in the many representations of cathedrals and bridges done by Feininger in the 'twenties, meeting in a pinnacle, the cathedral symbolized the Bauhaus ideal of unity in spirit, and a striving for that spirit. Most representative as an expression of the ultimate goals of the Bauhaus,[62] Feininger's art suggests the ideal "what" that was to be achieved, but not the "how" to that achievement. The three stars, one above each steeple of the cathedral, have been read as indicative of success in the quest to unify painting, sculpture, and architecture,[63] rooted in the handicrafts and expressed through the ultimate creation of a new architecture and the unified work of art, the "great building."[64] Straight and angled verticals extending beyond the stars indicate that the new architecture and the spirit underlying it transcend both their component elements and their concrete embodiment. (As elements in the Expressionist wood-cut, the stars may in fact be indicative only of the spirit of the Bauhaus conception and its unity with the cosmos—or of this in addition to the more objective interpretation.)

Two of the first three invitations sent by Gropius to prospective new staff members went to associates on the Work-Council for Art: Feininger, who was initially to be in charge of the printing and lithographing shop in the Bauhaus, and Gerhard Marcks, a sculptor who had done some work with Gropius before the war and was to head the pottery workshop of the Bauhaus in Dornburg, a small town east of Weimar. The third invitation went to Johannes Itten, the pedagogue and painter who was to develop the Preliminary Course of the Bauhaus.[65] Through their participation on the Work-Council, Gropius, Feininger, and Marcks had indicated to varying degrees a belief that the artist did have

Illustration 3

Lyonel Feininger, "Cathedral," 1919



a role to fill in relation to society, a socially constructive role that was foreign to the Dadaists as a group. But, at the same time, neither Feininger, Marcks, nor Itten would consider subordinating their involvement with art to any specific social tasks,[66] beyond their obligations as teachers.

Participation in the Bauhaus revealed at least a rather general initial agreement with the aims for the school set forth by Gropius. Most intense, though, was not agreement with any specific aims, but rather a belief in the importance, necessity, and possibility of developing as a basis for building towards the future a dynamic spirit of unity, a unity in multiplicity[67] and thereby magnified in its creative potential. Marcks and Feininger were joined in this belief by the painters Oskar Schlemmer, who became a member of the Bauhaus staff in 1920, Paul Klee, who also became a member of the staff in 1920, and Wassily Kandinsky, who entered the Bauhaus community in 1922; they held dear "the value of a spiritual union, with complete preservation of their identity and independence. Thus, the art of the individual [would be] developed and they [would] still [be] effective as a common force."[68] The cathedral and the concept of unity were basic for the Bauhaus and the social spirit that it hoped to create as a model for German society. Such a spirit would precede, result in, and be enhanced by the "new building of the future . . . the *crystallized symbol of a new, coming* belief."[69] As an ambitious experiment in art education, the Bauhaus was intended to be a school wherein the artist-to-be would be educated to fulfill his functions aware of and responsive to the world around him.[70] Whether or not he chose to subordinate his art to a manifest social role, the new artist would be able to participate in the effort to link the artist with the people, aware that he was of both categories. Cooperation between artists and artisans as Form Masters and Handicraft Masters in the Bauhaus was necessary to initiate the development of individuals combining the talents of both, a prelude to the acting in concert of artist and society and to the gradual reintegration of the former with the latter; thus would art be reasserted as a part of life in its totality.[71] Loyalty to the ultimate goals or to the spirit transcending them, augmented during the early years by the relative security afforded by government employment in the financially difficult years after the war, held the Bauhaus staff reasonably well together from 1919 to 1925 in Weimar. It was precisely this factor of unity that vitally overcame the divisiveness that marred the traditional academy and the relationships between fine arts academies and schools of applied arts.[72] Temporarily bridged was the cleft between advocates of the arts as functional and subordinate to society in some way and those advocating art as a pure and idealistic endeavor. Hopefully, one result would be a synthesis of decorative and monumental art in the formation of the "new building of the future."[73] Underlying this hope was the belief that decorative art and monumental art did not form an irreconcilable duality, distinct in their own causal systems, but rather a complementary polarity that

invited a meeting analogous to the one sought between art and life, a dynamic synthesis characterized by mutually beneficial interaction. Effectively translated from the microcosm of the Bauhaus to the macrocosm of society, the new spirit of unity might prove vital in the development of the Weimar Republic and to a transcending of the Republic. This spirit of unity was not intended to be a national spirit, but a human spirit; the determining characteristics were universal, intended to transcend the artificial boundaries rooted in nationalism and the cultural strait jackets into which men are educated.

Initially, the Bauhaus program with its emphasis upon a return to the handicrafts implied a revival of the Middle Ages. In the goals set for the school and in the decision to employ the terms "Master," "Journeyman," and "Apprentice" for teachers and students, an idealized past was superimposed upon a romantic expression of hope for the future, similar in great part to the preaching of the reactionary ideologists of the German *Volk.* Adding color to the early pronouncements of the Bauhaus were the visionary hopes of the Work-Council for Art, a carry-over of revolutionary and Expressionist fervor. A combination of past-influenced, revolutionary ideas and the apparent fact of a shattered post-war Germany suggested that the handicrafts might be the key to economic restoration, a revival of industry being a dream for the future.[74] More important, though, than any literal "return to the handicrafts" was a recapturing of the spirit of unity presumedly exemplified by the age of handicrafts and the cathedral; the idea of unity among the arts and of art and life was predicated upon the belief that the basis for such unity did in fact exist.[75] Gropius, and his colleagues among the revolutionary artist-intellectuals, envisioned architecture in the sense of the cathedral, once the unifying and integrative focal point for society as a community of individuals devoted to a single transcendent ideal. All arts would culminate in the new architecture to realize once again the social ideal of humanity; of all the arts, only architecture could completely integrate form and idea, means and ends.[76] To prepare for the time when the ultimate social-architectural goal would be realizable in an accommodating political and economic atmosphere, teachers and students in the Bauhaus were to plan utopian structures, together exploring and going beyond the limits of the probable and the possible while learning to unite the various arts.[77] Building in fantasy, the members of the Bauhaus community would maintain the ideal that was the justification for their concerted efforts; however much concerned with means, they were not going to set aside their end, nor allow or participate in the transformation of means into ends.[78]

"Art and Technology, the New Unity": this phrase heralded the apparently major programmatic shift made by the Bauhaus in 1922-1923; it was only apparent because it had not previously been a literal "return to the handicrafts" that was important, but rather the ideas and ideals basic to that conception. In proposing to found the new school, Gropius asserted the need for

bridging the gap between technologist and artist, and the technologist was representative of the modern, industrial world, just as the handicraftsman had been representative of medieval guild society.[79] The overt change in course by the Bauhaus seemingly indicated acceptance of the fact that the economic rebuilding of Germany, as much as bridging the gap between artist and society in a way that could be extended to an international plane, demanded a coming to terms with the world as it had progressed, including all the tools at the command of man. Technology was a vital part of life in the modern world, and the necessity for technological reconstruction opened the possibility for making signal changes in the relationships between industrial society and man. Participating in this reconstruction, the Bauhaus sights were set not merely upon infusing industry with art, but—and more importantly—upon injecting the preindustrial spirit of unity, a sense of involvement in the production of an entire product, and quality into technological operations and mass production.[80] Precisely how to achieve this aim was not resolved in the Bauhaus: a problem involving blue-collar workers was hardly to be solved by rainbow-collar artist-intellectuals. While they could and did devise usable and praiseworthy forms for industrial products, they could not inspire the development of that ideally conceived spirit with plans and models constructed completely apart from the actual human problems of the production line. That handicrafts might become more than a means of schooling the new artist in the possibilities of the materials with which he might work is difficult to envision, and that glorious hope was in short time little more than a faint glimmer for Gropius and the Bauhaus.[81] To effect a change in the spirit, it had been deemed necessary to propose that change in terms of the known, and thus in terms of a return to a situation wherein the unity sought had apparently existed. A reading of the past to conform with progressive ideas was basic to the creation of an anomalous, though temporarily pertinent, solution to the problems of industrialism, domination of materialist values, and the virtual chaos that followed the war.

In the concept of the "New Unity" one can discern a conscious effort to create new totality for self-aware man. The new totality was to encompass the characteristics traditionally attributed to art: emotions, spirituality, and heart, and those attributed to technology: reason, logicality, and mind. Such an intermingling of antagonistic elements in the dynamic interrelating of art and technology would mark an important departure from the careful distinction previously maintained between the two, which had emphasized the former as life and in irreconcilable opposition to the latter as death, a view popular among nineteenth-century reactionary groups and continued by the representatives of new conservative thought in Germany.[82] Clarifying his position, Gropius contended that no choice had necessarily to be made between individual creativity in isolation from the external world and a working together with industry, as Johannes Itten insisted.[83] And Lyonel Feininger, not alone, wondered whether,

because the times were bad, art had to be made purposeful by being bound to technology and thereby justified in its existence.[84] It seems there was a rather general fear among the Bauhaus Form Masters that the new conception would deny the spirituality of art, and they were anxious in their uncertainty concerning the idea of unity and how art might be affected when realized as a part of the life of man in an industrial-technological age. But there did not have to be a combining of art with technology and a subsequent probable subordination of one to the other: unity could be expressed dynamically in the work of artists who took cognizance of the realities of this world, paralleling the concept of unity in multiplicity. Such would be the case in so far as the artist was at all a part of the world, and his awareness of the world would be revealed in his work without any surrendering of individuality. Gropius himself had not spoken of a bond between art and technology, and had no desire to see art lose its nature—which, regardless of the relating of art and technology, was by no means necessary—or artists relinquish any of their peculiarities. With reference to art and technology, as with the individual and the group, the quest, according to Gropius, should be for the co-ordinating "X,"[85] combining the two traditionally divided types of creativity and existence to create a dynamic thesis through the meeting of two complementary poles, rather than a dialectical synthesis of irreconcilable opposites that would generate its own disintegration. Mutual interaction and polar relationships had to replace strict causal relationships, whether on a single or double level, as in duality. Alienation from the world was not the goal of the Bauhaus, and could never be the goal of architecture; "only the coming to grips with the *whole* can restore unity!"[86] And only the unity achieved in the course of coming to grips with this world and its problems would be of moment. Herein lay the responsibility assumed by the Bauhaus: to educate individuals to recognize the nature of the world in which they lived and to combine cognitive knowledge and imagination in order to create typical, representative forms for this world,[87] though not necessarily restricted to this age.

While the work of Feininger best expresses the transcendent ideal of the Bauhaus and the striving for that ideal,[88] the work of Oskar Schlemmer, and especially his paintings and choreography, most clearly embodies the school's considerations of man in the world. Schlemmer was concerned with the problem of the human being in relation to his environment, the problem of man in space. The quest to create a type in his paintings as an "emblem of the humanistic"[89] was also an attempt to give some expression to the idea of human unity; essential differences were limited to the relationship between the figure and the space in which he had been placed (or, with reference to Schlemmer's ballets, the space in which he moved). Unity was present in the fact of being; diversity was present in the process of becoming.[90] It was on the theater stage that the concern with unity and synthesis through a dynamic realization of total artistic possibilities could in surrogate be most effectively worked out.[91] Until

the Bauhaus was fully prepared to communicate through a new architecture, Schlemmer considered it the role of the (Bauhaus) theater "to serve the metaphysical needs of man by constructing a world of illusion and by creating the transcendental on the basis of the rational," thereby bridging metaphysical and empirical realities[92] and eliciting an existential response from or in man. A direct effect upon and reaction by man was not sought, as would have been the intention with politically directed or overtly didactic art; any influence would have to be by way of the individual's world-view, in a very general manner. Similarly, the indirect, problematical relationships existing between art and society and between the ideal and the real were not going to be made more definitely by a subordination of artistic talents to socio-political considerations.

While the difficulties revolving around the concern with synthesis and the question of the unity of art and technology were being exaggerated along with—according to the painters in the Bauhaus—implied restrictions on free creativity that threatened the internal unity of the school, positive interaction with society was limited to designing for industrial production. Plans for lamps and tubular steel chairs, among other items, were realized and played a significant part in clarifying the role of art vis-à-vis industrial society,[93] but this was only a partial step towards the goals of the Bauhaus. Only when the shift was made to Dessau in 1925, after the economic situation in Germany had been stabilized, did architecture assume the key significance for the school that had been intended from the start. With the development of architectural projects and community planning, it became increasingly possible to convey Bauhaus ideals to the people. Paths to the realization of those ideals were first clarified in Dessau, giving positive direction to a situation that remained ambiguous in Weimar. During the early years, many of the fiery young Bauhaus students desired specific action directives, which would relegate uncertainty and ambivalence to the background. Thus, Theo van Doesburg, the Constructivist leader from Holland, drew a significant following from among the students during his stay in Weimar; van Doesburg's dogmatic theory of art, an art dominated by geometric forms that could be intellectually comprehended, eliminated ambiguities by prohibiting basic deviations.[94] Constructive activities required relative certainty of means and ends, the one thing most of the Bauhaus Form Masters were not prepared to give their students.

Rejecting the imposition of what he considered unnecessary limitations upon man, limitations that relieved man of the responsibility for determining his own course of action (or non-action), Paul Klee was aware of at least one of the critical roots of uncertainty.

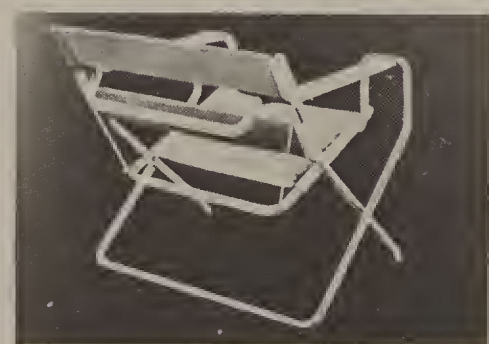
> Man's ability to measure the spiritual, earthbound and cosmic, set against his physical helplessness; that is his fundamental tragedy. The tragedy of spirituality. The consequence of this simultaneous helplessness of the body and mobility of the spirit is the dichotomy of human

Illustration 4

Upper, left and right: Marcel Breuer, Tubular Steel Chairs (designed ca. 1925 and ca. 1927; the straight-back is a Breuer original).
Lower left: Josef Hartwig, Chess Set (1924).
Lower right: Otto Rittweger, Tea Service (ca. 1924).









> existence. Man is half a prisoner, half borne on wings. Each of the two halves perceives the tragedy of its halfness by awareness of its counterpart.[95]

Klee recognized traditional dualism as the "tragedy of spirituality," and was determined not to compromise his ideals in order that they might become reality. Confronted with a dilemma related to that with which the Dadaists had to cope, he decided to act as an ironical commentator upon the condition of man. Klee refrained from acting in a socially involved way, outside his teaching, and created through drawing and painting his own world. There the artist could be and was a creative god, and his "art [was] a parable of creation."[96] In the creator's haven of ambiguity, Klee was completely free to choose as he wished: everything that was determined would be the results of only his efforts, just as the responsibility for those results would also be his alone. In this, Klee was like his "Sganarelle" (1922), a creation drawn from a play by Molière, in a contrived world that was not merely illusory, but wavered between reality and ideality, between playfulness and significance.[97] Klee's paramount desire was not to depict the visible, but to make the invisible visible, [98] thereby subtly contributing to the expansion of man's awareness of himself in the world. With increased awareness, the Bauhaus students' possibilities for action and the chances for successful realization of the ideals of unity and the "building of the future" also multiplied. Students and teachers were given rein for their individual creativity in the selection of their means to the envisioned goals, which proved a critical factor in evading an early sundering of the Bauhaus community.

Other, more mundane difficulties existed for the Bauhaus, almost all related to its financial dependence as a state school upon governmental budget allocations and to the feeling among the citizens of Weimar that their new, democratic rights guaranteed them a direct voice in the decisions made concerning the new art institution. Perceiving the school as a threat to their way of life, the inhabitants of Weimar did not fail to raise every debatable point, whether relevant or not. The Bauhaus's anti-traditionalism, under which label anything might be subsumed, and conscious quest to help develop a value base for the new socio-political structure endangered old, entrenched interests and comfortably familiar (that is, vapid) mores. To vent their opposition, the concerned, conservative citizenry, further antagonized by the discovery of the previously unpublicized "undemocratic" decision by the post-revolution Socialist-dominated Thuringian State Government to approve the formation of the Bauhaus,[99] held a public meeting in January, 1920, only nine months after the founding of the new-type school. Allowing no rejoinders to their charges, they claimed that the Bauhaus fostered a rigid, dogmatic development of the arts and blind opposition to Weimar's proud cultural heritage, without having proven its own ideas to be valid. The Thuringian Government shared the responsibility for these debasing acts, as it had condoned the absorption of the city's

renowned Academy of Fine Arts in a synthesis with the School of Applied Arts to create the bastard Bauhaus.[100] Appraising further the support that had been forthcoming for the Bauhaus, the conclusion was reached that the school was socialistic, if not completely subservient to the Socialist Party; it was obviously a favorite child of the Party, and political connotations were found—as expected—in all Bauhaus activities. Added to these accusations was one of internationalism, that is, anti-nationalism, evident in the school's intense concern for humanity rather than Germany, and inherent in its socialism. Such internationalism was flaunted in the persons of foreign teachers and students; there were the Swiss-born Itten, the American-born Feininger (later joined on the Bauhaus staff by the Russian Kandinsky and the Hungarian Laszlo Moholy-Nagy), and about twenty students who were not Germans (fourteen of those who were German Austrians): all were now being primarily supported by German money.[101] All condemnations of the socialist nature of the Bauhaus were apparently justified in 1923, when Oskar Schlemmer's plan for a brochure advertising the exhibition to be held that summer became public; therein, the Bauhaus's ideal "great building" or "Cathedral of the Future" was characterized as the "Cathedral of Socialism!"[102]

To the popular anti-Bauhaus arguments, used to justify a discontinuation of unconditional financial support for the school, the chief representative of the German People's Party in the Thuringian Legislature added the politically and economically expedient contention that the crisis period then still prevailing was not the proper time for the introduction of new ideas. Limited financial resources had to be applied to finding solutions to real problems, not misdirected into unfounded, idealistic endeavors.[103] As the political parties of the Right gained strength in Thuringia, financial support became increasingly uncertain, and their successes in the 1924 elections virtually nullified the possible positive effect of support rendered by the newly-formed "Circle of Friends of the Bauhaus."[104] Only with the move to Dessau in 1925 did the Bauhaus obtain temporary respite from public harassment.

During its years in Weimar, there was neither sufficient time nor opportunity for the Bauhaus to realize any more than the prerequisites for its program, in addition to having created a community of artists that was wrought with tensions. By 1925, the hope of establishing a model community that would serve national and then international aims through suggestions of essential social and educational reforms was refuted. Dedication to education and indirect action through art and architecture, processes of necessity slow even when the situation is conducive to their effectiveness, which was hardly the case in Germany, hindered Bauhaus efforts to participate effectively in the construction of a new Germany. As the progressive artist-intellectuals became discouraged, they turned to greater and more realistic involvement within their specific areas of competence and fell steadily further from the goals of the cathedral and

the ideal new community. Stabilization and the gradual resurgence of traditional values undermined the possibilities for Bauhaus influence; the snuffing out of the revolutionary situation had similarly affected the Dadaists. The election of Field Marshall Paul von Hindenburg to the presidency of the Republic in 1925 was a fitting symbolic conclusion to the quest for ideals in the Weimar Bauhaus.

In his controversial brochure planned to advertise the Bauhaus Exhibit in the Summer of 1923, but never used, Oskar Schlemmer vibrantly depicted the school and its aims. Currents mixed and clashed within the school, and it in turn clashed with the surrounding world. "Agitating and in its turn agitated, [the Bauhaus] unwillingly becomes a measure of the shocks of the political and spiritual life of the age, and the history of the Bauhaus becomes the history of contemporary art." An initial reaction against materialism and mechanization was followed by involvement in seeking solutions to the basic problems of the day. Dada had been the "court fool" in Germany, playing ball with paradoxes and hopefully clearing the atmosphere, making it possible for new values to be introduced and for constructive efforts to become significant. In quest of a synthesis, the Bauhaus attained a responsibility and conscience for the whole, and was dedicated to an idealism of activity encompassing art, science, and technology; it sought to prepare the way for the construction of "the world edifice," the Cathedral of Socialism. Although the Bauhaus could do no more than prepare for the future, of major importance were the facts that "*We are! We want! And we create!*"[105]

The goals postulated by the Bauhaus were admirable, but an age dominated by a country's struggle for the very basis of democracy was in no way conducive to their realization. Positive effort and conviction that the effort was worthwhile held the Bauhaus community together. For the Dadaists, after all, had not been able to clear the atmosphere that stifled the Bauhaus quest.

NOTES

[1] "Programm: Dada-Abend," Wednesday, April 30, 1919; "Programm & Einladung zur grossen Soiree," May 24 [from May 15, 1919]: examples of the originals are in BD, uncatalogued.

[2] Udo Rukser, "Dada. (Aufführung und Ausstellung im Salon Neumann, Kurfürstendamm)," *Freie Zeitung* (Berlin), No. 28, May 8, 1919: clipping in BD.

[3] See, for example, Richter, *Dada*, pp. 132 and 137.

[4] See illustration , p. 55.

[5] For example, Walter Gropius to Herr Aronhold, Berlin-Südende, September 3, 1919 (typewritten carbon copy), STAW, St. B'haus temp. Nos. 114-115.

[6] The leaflet is reproduced in Hans M. Wingler, *Das Bauhaus, 1919-1933: Weimar, Dessau, Berlin* (Bramsche, 1962), pp. 38-41, and in Schmidt, *Manifeste*, pp. 230-234. Feininger's wood-cut is entitled "Cathedral" by Wingler (p. 38) and "The Cathedral of Socialism" by Schmidt (p. 230): it would seem that "Cathedral" or Gropius's term "Cathedral of the Future" is more properly used, since the cathedral concept was first attacked as socialistic after it was specifically referred to as "The Cathedral of Socialism" by Oskar Schlemmer in 1923 (see below, pp. 63 and 64); for further consideration of the significance of the cathedral, see above, pp. 17 n. 11, 30, and 31, and below p. 83.

[7] The name "Bauhaus" was derived from the medieval *Bauhütte* (see above, p. 31), wherein the craftsmen were sheltered while working to build the cathedral in a town, thus connoting a structure in which all arts and crafts are considered and developed in relation to one another, dedicated to the end of the "great building" *(Bau).*"

[8] Giulio Carlo Argan, *Walter Gropius e la Bauhaus* ([Torino], 1951), p. 94.

[9] James Marston Fitch, *Walter Gropius* (New York, 1960), p. 14.

[10] Walter Gropius, "Baukunst im freien Volksstaat," in Drahn and Friedegg, *Deutscher Revolutions-Almanach*, p. 134.

[11] See above, NOTE, p. xi.

[12] See, for example, L. Pazitnov, *Das schöpferische Erbe des Bauhauses, 1919-1933* (Berlin, 1963), p. 13; Herbert Hübner, *Die soziale Utopie des Bauhauses: Ein Beitrag zur Wissenssoziologie in der bildenden Kunst* (Münster, 1963), p. 101. (Itten, born in 1888, was educated and active as a teacher in Switzerland; he took up painting just before World War I, and studied in Stuttgart where he met Oskar Schlemmer, himself later to become a member of the Bauhaus; in 1916 he went to Vienna and taught, and met Gropius through the architect and critic Adolf Loos and Alma Mahler, wife of the composer and conductor Gustav Mahler and wife-to-be of Gropius.)

[13] For example, Richard Huelsenbeck, *Mit Witz, Licht und Grütze: Auf den Spuren des Dadaismus* (Wiesbaden, 1957), p. 93.

[14] Argan, *Gropius*, p. 15.

[15] *Der Dada*, No. 2 ([1920]), p. [7]; Huelsenbeck asserted that the question "What is

Dada?" was "undadaistic" (Richard Huelsenbeck, "Einleitung zum Dada-Almanach," in Huelsenbeck, ed., *Dada Almanach: Im Auftrag des Zentralamts der deutschen Dada-Bewegung* [Berlin, 1920], pp. 3-4, reprinted in Huelsenbeck, *Dada*, pp. 100-104). At the same time, until recently there has persisted a dispute between Huelsenbeck and Raoul Hausmann concerning the definition of Dada and the characteristics of a Dadaist, with both vying to give the movement its historical significance: see, for example, Huelsenbeck, *Mit Witz, Licht und Grütze*, pp. 106-107, 148-149, and Raoul Hausmann, *Courrier Dada* (Paris, 1958), pp. 7-14, 139-145.

16 See Kurt Schwitters, "Dadaismus in Holland," *Merz*, No. 1 (January, 1923), pp. 5 and 7; [Alfred Sauermann?] O Siris, *Was ist Dadaismus? oder der Versuch einfaches Eiweis darzustellen* (Berlin, 1919), p. 6; Richard Huelsenbeck, "Dada als Literatur," in Kunstverein für die Rheinlande und Westfalen, Düsseldorf, *Dada: Dokumente einer Bewegung*, Catalogue for an exhibit held in the Düsseldorf Kunsthalle, September 5 to October 19, 1958 (no pagination); also see Lothar Pretzell, "Zu Max Ernst und seinem Werk," in *Max Ernst, Gemälde und Graphik, 1920-1950* (Brühl, 1951), p. 14.

17 See "Was wollte der Expressionismus?," from Huelsenbeck, *Dada Almanach*, quoted in Paul Raabe, H.L. Greve, with Ingrid Gruninger, *Expressionismus: Literatur und Kunst, 1910-1923* (Marbach on the Neckar, 1960), No. 112, p. 235; Richard Huelsenbeck, "Die dadaistische Bewegung: Eine Selbstbiographie," *Die neue Rundschau*, XXXI, viii (August, 1920), for example, 977-978; Guido K. Brand, "Dada," *Das literarische Echo*, XXIII, xiii (April 1, 1921), 788-791.

18 George Grosz, Dada Plakat ([Berlin], n.d.): private collection of Frau Clare Jung, East Berlin.

19 The Dada group in Cologne was founded and led by the painter and graphic artist Max Ernst, who shortly after was to play a leading role in the Surrealist movement, and the author Johannes Baargeld (pseudonym of Alfred Grünwald), son of a banker and able to supply the funds for Dadaist activities in Cologne with the gift his father gave him for turning away from Communism. Hans Arp also played an active role in the Cologne group for a short time. Informed of the existence of Dadaist groups in Zurich and New York, and seeing Dada as a valid and relevant point of contact with the times, Ernst gave the initial impetus to the group in Cologne after his release from the army in 1919. Among other activities, the Cologne Dadaists published one number of *Die Schammade* in February, 1920, on the cover of which was the call "Dilettantes arise!" Arp left for Paris shortly thereafter, followed two years later by Ernst. Baargeld continued his activities, until he met an accidental death in 1927 (see Michael Seuphor, "L'International Dada," *L'Oeil*, No. 24 [December, 1956], pp. 73-74, and Hugnet, "Dada Spirit in Painting," in Motherwell, *Anthology*, pp. 156-157). The third manifestation of Dada in Germany was as Merz, which name was derived by Kurt Schwitters from the word "Kom*merz*bank" ("Commercial Bank"). If the classification of Merz as the specifically "German variety of Dadaism" (Willy Verkauf, ed., with Marcel Janco and Hans Bolliger, *Dada, Monograph of a Movement* [New York, 1957], p. 169) were accepted, both the Berlin and Cologne groups would be reduced to mere offshoots of the one in Zurich, and to something less meaningful in relation to Germany than was Merz; the more valid case would be that all "national" instances of Dada were related, being in part reactions to the war, its causes, and its implications for man, and specific differences, including all three groups in Germany, are related to differences between the individuals involved and local peculiarities; Dada's intensely individualistic nature demanded a variety of forms. Schwitters himself, apolitical and holding an academic position, differed from the Berlin Dadaists in overt terms, but otherwise could have fitted in well with their group, had he not been refused "membership" in the Club Dada (here was another point of difference between Huelsenbeck, who frowned on Schwitters' lack of political concern [for example, *Mit Witz, Licht und Grütze*, pp. 108-110], and Hausmann, who

struck up a friendship with Schwitters, recognizing things other than politics as central to Dada [see "Antidada et Merz," in *Courrier Dada*, pp. 109-126]).

20 Richard Huelsenbeck, "En Avant Dada: A History of Dadaism," trans. R. Mannheim, in Motherwell, *Anthology*, p. 44 (the translation is not of the complete pamphlet by Huelsenbeck).

21 See, for example, Rosenberg, *Imperial Germany*, pp. 91-94; Harry Pross, ed., *Die Zerstörung der deutschen Politik: Dokumente, 1871-1933* (Frankfurt on the Main, 1959): "Der rote Schrecken," pamphlet on the occasion of the April strike in 1917, pp. 216-217, and "Die Lage Ende Juni 1917," from a memorandum of the Socialist Party's governing committee for Imperial Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, pp. 207-209; Wilhelm Stahl, ed., *Schulthess' Europäischer Geschichtskalendar*, Neue Folge, Dreiunddreissigster Jahrgang, 1917, Teil 1 (Munich, 1920), January 4 (pp. 3-4), April 13 (pp. 405-406), and April 16 (pp. 410-414).

22 Richard Huelsenbeck, *En avant dada: Eine Geschichte des Dadaismus, Die Silbergäule*, Vol. 50/51 (Hannover, 1920), pp. 25-26, and Huelsenbeck's "Die dadaistische Bewegung . . ." (1920), p. 976, and *Mit Witz, Licht und Grütze*, p. 91; also see Grosz, *A Little Yes*, p. 181, and Hugnet, "Dada Spirit in Painting," in Motherwell, *Anthology*, p. 144; see George Grosz's drawing "Cross-Section," Appendix B, p. 210.

23 Huelsenbeck did not serve in the army, having received permission to go to Switzerland, ostensibly to study, in fact to join Hugo Ball (*Mit Witz, Licht und Grütze*, pp. 10-11, 15); John Heartfield avoided military service by simulating a nerve disease (Herzfelde, *John Heartfield*, p.16); Johannes Baader was considered too mentally unstable to serve; Walter Mehring, Wieland Herzfelde, and George Grosz were all in the army (for the reactions of the latter two, see above, pp. 8-9 and 20 n. 46).

24 Bernard Myers, "Retreat into the Subconscious: Dada, New Objectivity, and Surrealism," *American Artist*, XVI, v (May, 1952), 25.

25 See Otto Flake, "[Über Dadaismus:] II. Prognose des Dadaismus," *Der neue Merkur*, IV, i (1920-1921), 404-405.

26 See, for example, R.C., "Der 'Oberdada' [that is, Baader] vor Gericht. Wegen Beleidigung der Reichswehr," Berliner *Lokal-Anzeiger*, No. 185, April 21, 1921: clipping in BD, No. 67; "Die Auswüchse der Dadamesse. Ein Prozess wegen Beleidigung der Reichswehr.—Der 'Oberdada' vor Gericht," Berliner *Tageblatt* (?), [April, 1921] : clipping in BD, uncatalogued; Rukser, "Dada" (1919).

27 Grosz, *A Little Yes*, p. 185.

28 As from the "dull-witted Kurfürstendamm public": Rukser, "Dada" (1919).

29 See, for example, "Eine dadaistische Ausstellung," Hamburger *Illustrierter Zeitung*, II, xxviii (1920), 9.

30 Hugnet noted a fear on the part of the bourgeoisie in Germany with regard to Dada ("Dada Spirit in Painting," in Motherwell, *Anthology*, p.148; Hans von Wedderkop noted "it is obvious that such a revolutionary movement . . . aimed at a fundamental change of man is not liked [but] the world need only to understand . . . . Then Dada is no longer dangerous . . ." ("Dadaismus," *Jahrbuch der Jungen Kunst*, II [1921], pp. 223-224); also see Pieris, "Ideological Momentum . . ." (1952), for a consideration of man's need for security (pp. 341-343) and the relation of security to authority (pp. 345-346), and for a discussion of responses see Alice H. Eagly and Melvin Manis,

"Evaluation of Message and Communicator as a Function of Involvement," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* III, iv (April, 1966), 485.

31 John Alford, "The Prophet and the Playboy: 'Dada was not a farce,' " *College Art Journal,* XI, iv (Summer, 1952), 274.

32 Thus, for example, the effectiveness of Walter Mehring was greatly impaired in socio-political terms by his acceptance in the Berlin cabarets as the "house-poet of 'good society' " (Eugen Ortner, "Vorwort," in R.A. Sievers, *Runter mit dem Zylinder! Ein politisches Cabarett-Programm* [Leipzig, 1924], p. 5).

33 "The Art of Unreason," *The Times Literary Supplement,* June 9, 1961, p. 350.

34 See Kurt Schwitters' poem, "Lanke tr gl," Appendix A, p. 200.

35 Raoul Hausmann, the philosopher among the Dadaists and a member of the November Group, notes that in Berlin Dada was no longer the "artistic game" that it had been in Zurich ("Club Dada, Berlin [1918-1920]," in Kunstverein für die Rheinlande und Westfalen, *Dada,* no pagination), an essentially accurate assertion; also see Hausmann, *Courrier Dada,* pp. 140-141.

36 See, for example, R[aoul] Hausmann, "Bilanz der Feierlichkeit [Glosse]," *Die Erde,* I, xvi/xvii (September 1, 1919), 519; Seuphor, "L'International Dada" (1956), p. 64, contends that "the act of complete rejection was not negation, but affirmation of the highest order"; also see Rukser, "Dada" (1919), and [Sauermann?] O Siris, *Was ist Dadaismus?* p. 2: Dada is "the teaching of the liberation of the human being."

37 "Dadaistisches Manifest," in Huelsenbeck, *Dada,* p. 29, and translated in Motherwell, *Anthology,* p. 246.

38 Raoul Hausmann, "Pamphlet gegen die Weimarische Lebensauffassung," in Huelsenbeck, *Dada,* p. 35 (first published in *Der Einzige,* No. 14 [April 20, 1919], pp. 163-164); [Johannes] Baader: ". . . every Dadaist follows only his own directions and is answerable only for himself" ("Ex Cathedra Dada," in Fried-Hardy Worm, ed., *Das Bordell: Eine groteske Publikation* [Berlin, 1921], p. 29), and also see Baader's "Wer ist Dadaist?" in Raabe *et al., Expressionismus,* No. 114, p. 238 (from *Die junge Kunst,* No. 2 [1919], p. 16).

39 Quoted in Hausmann, *Courrier Dada,* p. 145.

40 See Alford, "Prophet and the Playboy . . ." (1952), pp. 270-271.

41 Huelsenbeck has claimed for himself the distinction of having been the first Existentialist (*Mit Witz, Licht und Grütze,* p. 105), in which contention he is supported in the introduction to his book by Will Grohmann (esp. p. 5): both draw upon Jean-Paul Sartre's references to the paradoxical reactions of life (pp. 5-6, 105, and also see pp. 29, 66, 89-90, 106) as support for the contentions about the Existentialists; also see an essay by Huelsenbeck, "Dada and Existentialism," in Verkauf *et al., Dada, Monograph,* pp. 50-63, including an assertion that Dada should be understood "from what has remained, which is, I think, its philosophical content" (p. 50). Contrast this with Hausmann, *Courrier Dada,* pp. 139-140. One should take exception to Huelsenbeck's claims of his being the first Existentialist and that Dada should be understood from "its philosophical content," the first because it is blatantly false and the second because it would greatly lessen the significance of Dada.

42 Huelsenbeck, "En Avant Dada . . .," in Motherwell, *Anthology,* p. 36; also see Wolfgang

Paulsen, *Expressionismus und Aktivismus: Eine typologische Untersuchung* (Strassburg, 1934), p. 63.

[43] Huelsenbeck, "En Avant Dada . . .," in Motherwell, *Anthology*, p. 45, and see above, p. 46.

[44] Huelsenbeck, ibid., p. 42.

[45] Huelsenbeck, ibid., p. 28: ". . . the Dadaist should be a man who has fully understood that one is entitled to have ideas only if one can transform them into life—the completely active type who lives only through action . . ."; thereby, "the emptiness would be overshadowed by the God-substitute life" (Hans Bäcker, "Vom Sinn im Dada-Unsinn. Ein Nachruf," *Die Rheinlande*, XXXII, i/ii [1922], 89).

[46] Huelsenbeck, "En Avant Dada . . .," in Motherwell, *Anthology*, p. 45; the term was borrowed from a friend of many of the Dadaists, the neo-Kantian philosopher, writer of grotesque stories, and one of the editors of the anarchistic magazine *Der Einzige*, Salomo Friedlaender (Mynona): see his book *Schöpferische Indifferenz* (Munich, 1918), esp. pp. X-XI and XIV-XV; for a comment relevant to the above discussion, see Albert Camus, "The Myth of Sisyphus," in *The Myth of Sisyphus and Other Essays*, trans. J. O'Brien (New York, 1959), pp. 88-91.

[47] See above, pp. 23-24.

[48] The author and critic Otto Flake noted that a combining of Huelsenbeck (and the Dadaists) with Hiller (and the Activists) would be beneficial for Germany; he admired Dada for its potential to stir people, and was hopeful that the Dadaists would be able to rouse the bourgeoisie, which would make significant action towards a stable development of the Weimar Republic possible ("Zum Thema Dadaismus," in *Das vierte Heft* of *Die fünf Hefte* [Munich, 1920], p. 187)—even if Flake's hope had some foundation, it appeared in print too late, with the Berlin Dada group disbanding at about that time. Shortly after, Johannes Baader did write to Hiller, seriously suggesting that the latter call for everyone to act in cooperation with Baader in a supra- or anational spirit, for the benefit of mankind ("Dritter Brief an Dr. Kurt Hiller," July 15, 3 [that is, 1921, the third year after the birth of Dada in Germany], 1 p. [typewritten carbon copy] : private collection of Herr Gerhard Ströch, Altenburg, German Democratic Republic).

[49] "I stand above the National Assembly. Not by the right of a party, but by the right of the spirit. So long as there is a Pope there will be a Christ . . . . He who does not want to follow me as 'Christ,' is welcome as a friend of the 'Chief Dada.' He who does not love [the 'Chief Dada'] may go with me as . . . the world-encompassing *human* being": Baader in *Die freie Strasse*, No. 10 (December, 1918), p. 1; also see Hausmann, *Courrier Dada*, p. 74, and Richter, *Dada*, p. 128.

[50] See illustrations, p. 51; Edouard Roditi, "Hannah Höch und die Berliner Dadaisten: Ein Gespräch mit der Malerin," *Der Monat*, XII, No. 134 (November, 1959), 63; Huelsenbeck, "En Avant Dada . . .," in Motherwell, *Anthology*, pp. 36-37: "The new medium . . . points . . . to action"; one critic, among many with similar opinions, suggested that Schwitters' "Merz-Paintings" showed thc chaos of the world in the present, and from there one might proceed to "art" ([Eugen Kurt] F[ischer], "Merz-Kunst," *Kunstwart und Kulturwart*, XXXIV, iii [December, 1920], 187).

[51] See Herzfelde, *John Heartfield*, p. 18; Heartfield used photomontages to pictorialize his opposition to Hitler, developing them beyond their less sophisticated form of the 'twenties: see "Photomontagen zur Zeitgeschichte," in Konrad Farner, ed., *John Heartfield: Photomontagen zur Zeitgeschichte*, I, *Erbe und Gegenwart*, Vol. VI (Zurich,

[1945]), which consists of twenty-one political photomontages.

52 For some discussion of *Neue Jugend* and *Jedermann sein eigener Fussball,* see above, pp. 8-9, and p. 49, respectively. *Der Dada* was the major group venture (1919-1920), referred to as the "newspaper of the German Dadaists, the only authoritative organ of the Dada movement in Germany" (see Kunstverein für die Rheinlande und Westfalen, Dusseldorf, Dada, No. 453, no pagination). *Der blutige Ernst* (1919) was not strictly Dadaist, but was co-edited for a time by George Grosz. *Die Pleite* (*Bankruptcy,* 1919-1924), for which Grosz was the major contributing artist, and to which most of the Berlin Dadaists did contribute, was, properly speaking, an organ of the Malik Publishing House; it was much more politically oriented than the other magazines, especially after the three-year gap between No. 6 of January, 1920, and No. 7. of July, 1923. (For a detailed consideration of the above, see Raabe, *literarischen Expressionismus,* pp. 62-63, 95-97, 105, 110.) In Hannover, Kurt Schwitters edited his own magazine *Merz* (1923-1932), which was more cosmopolitan than any of the others (see Kunstverein Hannover, *Die Zwanziger Jahre in Hannover: Bildende Kunst, Literatur, Theater, Tanz, Architektur, 1916-1933,* Catalogue of an Exhibit held from August 12 to September 30, 1962, pp. 145-150). Also see below, Bibliography, Section III-A. 2, pp. 217-218.

53 For none of these three was the transition to political activism difficult. Herzfelde, although he had taken some part in the Dadaist circle and had carried much of the publishing responsibilities, had hardly been committed to the Dadaist concepts of freedom and ambiguity; his major concern was with revolution in the more traditional economic, social, and political sense, and, especially after stabilization had become a fact in Germany by the end of 1923, he devoted publication efforts to Communist and Communist-oriented literature, and to propagandizing the Soviet experiment (see Wieland Herzfelde, "Zur Malik-Bibliographie," *Marginalien,* No. 15 [August, 1964] , pp. 10-18, and, in the same number of the periodical, Heinz Gittig, "Die Publikationen des Malik-Verlages: Eine Bibliographie," pp. 34-52; also see Hugnet, "Dada Spirit in Painting," in Motherwell, *Anthology,* pp. 152-153). Heartfield had been participating in Communist and Dadaist activities, and merely shifted his emphasis. Franz Jung, who came into contact with Raoul Hausmann through participation in Franz Pfemfert's *Aktion* circle and, with Hausmann, met Richard Huelsenbeck in the offices of the Malik Publishing House, was active as a Dadaist for only a short time during 1917-1918; in the years 1913 to 1930 he vacillated between anarchism and Communism, was a member of the short-lived German Communist Workers' Party (KAPD), and for a time was a factory director in the Soviet Union; in his autobiography, Jung asserted that Dada played no part in preparing Germany for revolution (none of the Dadaists seem to have deluded themselves into so thinking, however much they had hoped to aid in such preparation, both before and after November, 1918), and that Dada was dead before the Republic was declared (*Weg nach unten,* pp. 110-111), a statement valid only in the sense that Dada was not politically effective, and could not be without the existence of a revolutionary situation.

54 This essay was published in *Das Kunstblatt,* V, i [1921] , 10-16; the pictorial sociopolitical criticisms made by Grosz, which reveal his Communist sympathies, appeared extensively in various periodicals and several books and lithograph editions: especially interesting is the portfolio *"Gott mit uns"; politische Mappe* (Berlin, 1920)—"Gott mit uns" ("God with Us") was the phrase on the belt-buckle of the Prussian soldier—and the book *Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse: 55 politische Zeichnungen, Kleine Revolutionäre Bibliothek,* Vol. IV (Berlin, 1921—3rd ed., expanded).

55 Mehring, "Antwort auf ein kommunistisches Verhor," *Das Tage-Buch,* XI, xxxvi (September 6, 1930), p. 1434, and also see pp. 1431-1432; through the short Berlin Dada period, Mehring remained active in cabaret and filled a traditional role there; in 1919,

Schall und Rauch: Einfach klassisch! Eine Orestie mit glücklichem Ausgang, critical of current events and of idealists who did not see through the realization of their ideals to a successful conclusion, was published, and in 1920 appeared *Das politische Cabaret: Chansons Songs Couplets.*

56 Walter Mehring, "Wenn Ihr's nicht fühlt, ihr werdet nicht erjagen . . . (Vorspruch zur Blandine Ebinger Matineé)," *Die neue Schaubühne,* IV, iv (April, 1922), 108-109.

57 For example, George Grosz, "Gesang an die Welt," *1918-Neue Blätter für Kunst und Dichtung,* I (November), p. 154.

58 At an earlier date, before he had had any significant work published or reproduced for sale, Grosz was significantly characterized by the Expressionist poetess Else Lasker-Schuler: he is one who "loves his misfortune/ Like a devoted enemy, / / And his sadness is dionysian,/ His complaints black champagne . . . . His God only seems to be dead" ("George Grosz," *Neue Jugend* [Monatsschrift), No. 8 [August, 1916], p. 154).

59 See above, pp. 32-33.

60 As leader of the Work-Council for Art during the Council's early months, Gropius had noted that positive achievement depended upon initial consolidation and complete preparation before confronting the public, when the time was ripe: "[Notes for a Meeting of the Work-Council for Art]," n.p., n.d. [1919?], pp. 2-3, SG, BD; the same was true for the Bauhaus.

61 See illustrations, p. 55 and Appendix B, p. 208.

62 Hess, *Feininger,* p. 88.

63 See, for example, Hübner, *soziale Utopie des Bauhauses,* pp. 7-8.

64 See the Manifesto of the Bauhaus and the "Programm des Staatlichen Bauhauses in Weimar"—"Ziele des Bauhauses," in Wingler, *Bauhaus,* pp. 39-40; for an interpretation of Feininger's "Cathedral" that goes far beyond the possible initially intended meaning and, by telescoping the development of Bauhaus aims, indicates the future course of the school, see Wolf von Eckardt, "The Bauhaus," *Horizon,* IV, ii (November, 1961), 60.

65 See above, p. 42, and p. 65 n. 12.

66 See Hess, *Feininger,* p. 90; Adolf Reith, *Gerhard Marcks* (Recklinghausen, 1959), pp. 6, 9; also, with reference to Itten, see above, p. 58, and below, p. 88.

67 For example, Wingler, *Bauhaus,* p. 20.

68 Hess, *Feininger,* p. 90.

69 See the Manifesto of the Bauhaus, in Wingler, *Bauhaus,* p. 39, my emphasis; the "new building" was not a symbol of the Bauhaus, as Eckardt asserts ("The Bauhaus" [1961], p. 61), concerned as the school was with creating the means to certain social and artistic ends, but rather as a symbol of the belief essential to the realization of the "building of the future," the form of which was yet unknown.

70 See Herbert Bayer, Walter Gropius, and Ise Gropius, eds., *Bauhaus, 1919-1928* (Boston, 1952), p. 6 (principle number 8).

71 See, for example, Gilbert Herbert, *The Synthetic Vision of Walter Gropius* (Johannesburg, 1959), p. 42.

72 Walter Gropius, "[Concerning Problems of the Bauhaus]," labeled "own viewpoint," February 3, 1922, p. 7 (typewritten carbon copy), STAW, St. B'haus temp. Nos. 187-188, partly published in Wingler, *Bauhaus*, p. 63 ("Die Tragfähigkeit der Bauhaus-Idee"); also see Hübner, *soziale Utopie des Bauhauses*, p. 9.

73 Bauhaus Program, Wingler, *Bauhaus*, p. 40.

74 Conversation between Hans M. Wingler, Director of the Bauhaus Archive, and the author, December 2, 1965.

75 [?] Joecks and Hans Haffenrichter, "Das staatliche Bauhaus in Weimar," *Vivos voco*, III, v/vi (November/December, 1922), 207; this conception was essentially a restatement of the various programs adhered to by progressive-minded artist-intellectuals in the flush of revolution, which continued as a living conception for some of them, and was similar to Heinrich Sachs's idea of the inseparable unity of "art, life, and religion [or any transcendental belief?]," to be revealed as a spiritual unity among men in a social art style (*Entwurf einer Kunst-Schule* [Jena, 1920], p. 9); also see Ehmcke's consideration that handicrafts play a role subordinate to that of the "leading spiritual ideas" (*Zur Krisis der Kunst*, p. 28).

76 Walter Gropius, "Idee und Aufbau des Staatlichen Bauhauses," in *Staatliches Bauhaus, Weimar: 1919-1923* (Weimar-Munich, 1923), p. 7.

77 Bauhaus Program, Wingler, *Bauhaus*, p. 40; Walter Gropius, "Rede bei der I. Ausstellung von Schülerarbeiten des Bauhauses (Juni 1919)," in Schmidt, *Manifeste*, p. 237: "as material possibilities have declined, the [possibilities for] intellectual [achievements] have greatly increased"; also see Gropius, "Was its Baukunst?" in the catalogue for the "Ausstellung für unbekannte Architektur," Berlin, April, 1919, p. [1], in SG, SB Film No. 2, BD.

78 Compare the above with Hübner, *soziale Utopie des Bauhauses*, pp. 88, 164-165; the fact that the artist Form Masters of the Bauhaus were not ready or willing to sacrifice their own work to the quest for the utopian goals of the Bauhaus and a better world does not mean that they did not believe in those ends—in their own way—nor that they would not educate others who might be willing to sacrifice their individuality to such ends, if that proved necessary—the artists in the Bauhaus believed that their individual efforts could and would contribute to the ultimate goals, in which they did believe.

79 Walter Gropius, "Vorschläge zur Gründung des Bauhauses," p. 3 (typewritten carbon copy), SG, BD, published in Wingler, *Bauhaus*, pp. 29-30.

80 See Gropius, "Idee und Aufbau . . .," in *Staatliches Bauhaus*, p. 7; for a theoretical consideration of some of the problems involved in the effort of the Bauhaus, see Karl Mannheim, *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction: Studies in Modern Social Structure*, trans. E. Shils (London, 1940—revised ed.), esp. pp. 51-60. In *Zukunft der deutschen Kunst*, Karl Scheffler writes of an actual return to handicrafts as the only way to overcome the machine hearts of the industrial age; a return to the natural was the path to inner security and certainty: with a Protestant rebirth and a new blossoming of German idealism, work would again become a wage and a joy in itself (pp. 36-40)—this suggests the proximity of some aspects of neo-conservatism to progressive ideas, and also some basic differences in approaching the problems; also see, for example, the views of Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl (1823-1897), who was a professor at the University of Munich, in George L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of*

of the Third Reich (New York, 1964), pp. 19-21.

81 Gropius, "Idee und Aufbau . . .," in *Staatliches Bauhaus,* p. 12; at about the same time that Gropius began delineating "The New Unity," Adolf Behne, a close friend and fellow leader of the Work-Council for Art whose early views had been more romantic than those of Gropius, noted the antithesis of the handicrafts and technology in a general and radical sense, and that artists, sculptors, and painters had to go forward in the service of the spirit, not back to the handicrafts ("Kunst, Handwerk, Technik," *Die neue Rundschau,* XXXIII, x [October, 1922], 1028, 1037).

82 See Scheffler, *Zukunft der deutschen Kunst,* pp. 36-40, and above, p. 72 n. 79; also see Sontheimer, *Antidemokratisches Denken,* p. 71.

83 For example, Protokoll der Meisterratsitzung, October 3, 1922, pp. [2-3], SG, BD.

84 Lyonel Feininger to Julia Feininger, July, 1923, FP, No. 1445-II, 1923/5 (Appendix); similar doubts were apparently raised by Gerhard Marcks, among others on the Bauhaus staff: Rieth, *Marcks,* p. 11; the citizens of Weimar often raised arguments centered upon the contention that art had to be proven useful, if the Bauhaus were to receive financial support during the trying years after the war; see below, p. 93 and pp. 104-105 n. 76.

85 Walter Gropius, "[Concerning Problems of the Bauhaus]," February 3, 1922, p. 1, STAW, St. B'haus temp. Nos. 187-188; also see comparable thoughts on synthesis expressed by Wassily Kandinsky: "The science of art must travel the same road [as philosophy presented with materials by science], in the course of which, however, it should from the very outset unite the external with the inner" (*Point and Line to Plane,* ed. H. Rebay, trans. H. Dearstyne and H. Rebay [New York, 1947], p. 67), and in "Und: Einiges über Synthetische Kunst," *i 10,* I, i (1927 [written in October, 1926]), 4-10; Gustav Pauli asserted that "the favorite concept of the new age is 'synthesis'; not long ago . . . it was analysis," the latter considered as the basis for understanding, the former as the basis for life (*Die Kunst und die Revolution* [Berlin, 1921], p. 37).

86 Walter Gropius, "[Concerning Problems of the Bauhaus]," p. 3 (see citation in preceding note).

87 Gropius, *Ibid.,* pp. 3-4: if the Bauhaus participant "stays in [and aware of] this world, the forms of his work will increasingly take on its rhythm . . .," and thereby art and architecture will mirror the age (Otto Meyer, "Gedanken über das Bauen. II," *Austausch,* No. [3] [beginning of June, 1919], p. 6); concern in the Bauhaus was necessarily expanded to the consideration of a unified feeling for life, involving the education of heart, head, hand, temperament, understanding, and ability: for example, "Die Einheit von Kunst, Technik und Wirtschaft: Eine Rede von Gropius vor der Württembergischer Arbeitsgemeinschaft des Werkbunds," Stuttgarter *Neues Tageblatt,* April 21, 1923, clipping in SG, SB No. 3, BD.

88 See above, p. 54.

89 Werner Haftmann, "Vorwort," in Galerie Krugier et Cie, Geneva, *Suites: Oskar Schlemmer,* Catalogue of an exhibit held during April and May, 1964, p. [4].

90 See illustrations, Appendix B, p. 207, which are typical examples of Schlemmer's oil paintings done during the Bauhaus years—the component elements are stated perhaps most strongly in the later "Bauhaus Steps" (1932), which may be seen in the Museum of Modern Art, New York City (these are all reproduced in color in Georg Schmidt, *Die Malerei in Deutschland, 1918-1955* [Königstein im Taunus, 1960], pp. 29-31); with reference to Schlemmer's ballet and other theatrical efforts, see photographs in

Wingler, *Bauhaus*, pp. 332-333, 335, and Oskar Schlemmer, *Briefe und Tagebücher*, ed. T. Schlemmer (Munich, 1958), facing pp. 96 and 369; also see the excerpt from Schlemmer's essay "Abstraktion in Tanz und Kostüm" (1928), in Wingler, *Bauhaus*, p. 431.

91 Oskar Schlemmer, "Ballett?," September, 1922, pp. 1-2 (typewritten manuscript), STAW, St. B'haus temp. No. 338.

92 Oskar Schlemmer, "Theatre (Bühne)," from a lecture demonstration in the Bauhaus, Dessau, for the Circle of Friends of the Bauhaus, March 16, 1927, in Walter Gropius, ed., *The Theater of the Bauhaus*, trans. A.S. Wensinger (Middletown, Connecticut, 1961), p. 81; see Palma Bucarelli's note in Galleria Nazionale d'Arte moderna, Rome, *Oskar Schlemmer* ([Rome, 1961/62]), p. 10.

93 See illustrations, p. 61.

94 See Feininger's comments in a letter to his wife, September, 1922, FP, No. 1445-II, pp. 29-30 (Appendix).

95 Paul Klee, *The Thinking Eye: The Notebooks of Paul Klee*, ed. J. Spiller, trans. R. Mannheim (London, 1961), p. 407 (April 3, 1922); this also appears in Klee's *Pedagogical Sketch Book*, trans. S. Peech (New York, 1944), p. 37, but is poorly translated.

96 Felix Klee, *Paul Klee: His Life and Work in Documents, Selected from Posthumous Writings and Unpublished Letters*, trans. R. and C. Winston (New York, 1962), p. 16 (1918); see, as one example, Klee's "Industrial Landscape" of 1920, in Appendix B, p. 206.

97 See illustration, Appendix B, p. 208, and Kunstsammlung Nordrhein- Westfalen, Düsseldorf, *Paul Klee*, p. 135, No. 9; also see *Im Zwischenreich: Aquarelle und Zeichnungen von Paul Klee* (Cologne, 1959).

98 Klee, *Thinking Eye*, p. 76.

99 This claim made by the German National, German People's, and German Democratic Parties was reported in "Künstlerstreit und Landesvertretung," Thüringer,*Allgemeine Zeitung*, January 13, 1920, clipping in SG, SB, No. 1, BD.

100 See, for example, "Eine imposante Kundgebung für Weimars Kunstschule [that is, the old Academy of Fine Arts] ," Weimarische Landeszeitung *'Deutschland'*, January 23, 1920, No. 23; "Der Streit um die Weimarer Kunstschule," Hannoversche *Courier*, January 29, 1920: "Dadaists and others tried to disturb the meeting . . ."; "Der Kampf um das Staatliche Bauhaus in Weimar," Berlin *Börsen-Courier*, January 26, 1920: the above clippings are all in SG, SB No. 1, BD; Staatliches Bauhaus, Weimar, *Der Streit um das Staatliche Bauhaus* (Weimar, April, 1920), p. 10; also see above, p. 20 n. 68.

101 See "[Das] staatliche Bauhaus in Weimar," Beilage zur Thüringer *Tageszeitung*, January 3, 1920, No. 2: "*The Art work should be national*" (p. 3), and in the Bauhaus there are strange contrasts of a "good German-national avowal of the handicrafts" and a "hazy art ideal," of the "fervor of the German life of sensitivity" and "fantastic cosmopolitan ideas" (p. 4); Leonhard Schrickel, "Der Weimarische Kunststreit," Leipziger *Neuesten Nachrichten*, January 14, 1920, No. 14: the quest should be for a "German style of life" (both clippings are in SG, SB No. 1, BD).

102 See below, p. 64.

103 See the remarks of Representative Dr. Herfurth in *Landtag von Thüringen. 1923. Stenographische Berichte.* 156th Session, March 16, 1923, pp. 4362-4371, esp. p. 4371, and pp. 4394-4395.

104 See "Kuratorium des 'Kreises der Freunde des Bauhauses'—Aufruf, dem 'Kreis der Freunde' beizutreten" (1924), in Wingler, *Bauhaus,* pp. 92-93; members of the "Circle" included Arnold Schönberg, Marc Chagall, Gerhart Hauptmann, and Albert Einstein, among others.

105 Oskar Schlemmer, "Das Staatliche Bauhaus in Weimar," in Wingler, *Bauhaus,* pp. 79-80.

CHAPTER IV

THE QUEST FOR UNITY AND DIRECTION: INDIVIDUAL, COMMUNITY, UTOPIA

Freedom and the acceptance of ambiguity; a community of diverse individuals working to achieve a common goal: these were the respective ideals of Dada and the Bauhaus. Considered by onlookers within the immediate human and historical context, such ideals as goals were utopian and unrealizable; in the eyes of their conceivers, they were far from unrealizable, however "utopian"—and they were essential. As the Dadaists and the members of the Bauhaus considered them, utopian goals were "situationally transcendent ideas," possibilities for the future that in the course of realization would effect and, in turn, be affected by a transformation of the existing social-historical situation, including man.[1] In contrast to utopia as an end, implying an ideal and static society, utopia here was a means whereby to co-ordinate the activities of individuals, giving them sufficient direction to minimize conflict destructive of their efforts at self-realization and creative expression; the utopian situation was a process, not an end.

Not only constructs of wishful thinking and objects for contemplation, utopias are psychologically as real in the ideational world of idealistic philosophy as are concrete objects and situations in the physical world of "philosophical" materialism. Depending upon the individual, utopian concepts are comparable to desires for material gain as motivating factors. Thus, the title of the work *Utopia: Documents of Reality,*[2] composed in part by the Bauhaus's Johannes Itten and Oskar Schlemmer, is only apparently paradoxical. Implicitly critical of the present, (often) optimistic with reference to the future, by definition situationally transcendent, utopia was and is effective in relation to acting and becoming as opposed to merely being. Moreover, until all processes are concluded, or until all possibilities and their consequences are known, the "best of all possible worlds" is a concept limiting and destructive of creativity.

Although at the time of its conception an ideal may be generally regarded, even among its proponents, as highly improbable, it remains a usually convinced view of *what might be in contrast to what is.* Belief in an ideal does not necessarily mean the subordination of all action to one specific vision of the future, unless perhaps in the open-ended sense of a situation amenable to many goals, or in the sense of a process; as one approaches the initially postulated ideal, an increasing awareness of the possibility of going beyond that goal may result in one's transforming it from an end into only another step towards some new one. The ideals of Dadaist freedom and the Bauhaus Cathedral of the Future were ends, not in the sense of a culmination of civilization and the estab-

lishment of paradise on earth, but as prerequisites (or symbols thereof) for situations that would allow maximum individual responsibility and creativity without negating the bases for unity among men, which gave some direction to their group efforts.

Dadaist attacks upon existing institutions and situations[3] implied a belief that something better was definable and attainable. Although their commitment as Dadaists to individuality and opposition to the structuring that had to accompany the delineation of a positive, socially constructive course of action meant a rejection of that task, they nevertheless did devise a mock-Communist program for the transformation of Germany. They acknowledged thereby a pervasive societal need for a positive program that would compensate for the uncertainty and insecurity rooted in a post-revolutionary lack of criteria whereby to resolve ambiguities, a lack of knowledge as to what one ought to do in a democratic society.[4] At the same time, the nature of their program, devised by Richard Huelsenbeck and Raoul Hausmann and the only assertedly "political" position of the Dadaists, suggests a degree of contempt for a weakness in the German that they hoped to help correct.

Dadaism demands:

> 1) The international revolutionary union of all creative and intellectual men and women on the basis of radical Communism;
> 2) The introduction of progressive unemployment through comprehensive mechanization of every field of activity. Only by unemployment does it become possible for the individual to achieve certainty as to the truth of life and finally become accustomed to experience;
> 3) The immediate expropriation of property (socialization) and the communal feeding of all; further, the erection of cities of light, and gardens which will belong to society as a whole and prepare man for a state of freedom.[5]

Proceeding with considerations of the Dadaist faith and new education, the conclusion was drawn that social engineering was the key to the future, in which procedure the Dadaist Revolutionary Central Council should play a role analogous to that of the Communist Party in Russia. In fact, the imposition of any program upon men was diametrically opposed to the Dadaist mission, and their demands and suggestions were a response to extreme *and* dogmatic plans for social transformation, as expressed by many groups and exemplified at that time by the Communist Party. Dada's ideal was the life of freedom, a freedom of choice in acting that appeared particularly utopian after a defeat in war, but that was also necessary were the situation and not the individuals to be taken advantage of. Only a situation of ambiguity guaranteed maximum freedom to form one's life as one wished. But the uncertainty and insecurity of this situation also made it the one most difficult for people to remain in. These factors suggest that the Dadaist utopia was both the most

extreme and, perhaps, the most admirable and meaningful of all those postulated by Germany's artist-intellectuals.

To stimulate the development of the spirit of community in an industrial society, a spirit to be realized in a "moral-humane consciousness,"[6] was one utopian aim of Walter Gropius and the Bauhaus. Success in the establishment of a transcendent ideal for the society of the day, symbolized by a new architecture, could awaken within and among men a consciousness of unity that would complement the merely overt and mechanical unity imposed by the structural elements of the social system.[7] Even when established in the Bauhaus by teachers and students, the social goal of community would remain a utopian aim for society, but enhanced in its possibility of realization. At the same time, the model of the Bauhaus would emphasize the existence of a gap between the real, or what was, and the possible; it might also inadvertently, and detrimentally to the Bauhaus intention, exaggerate the differences between those individuals in the Bauhaus, the artist-intellectuals, and those who were hopefully to respond to the school's efforts. By 1923 the Bauhaus presented in more objective terms as the "New Unity" its goal of relating the fine arts, the handicrafts, and architecture to one another in a way relevant to industrial society. This goal was conceived of in terms of a dynamic creativity that was to some degree structured and defined, but not conclusively so. Individual selection of specific ways to the Bauhaus goal allowed for creative expression, with awareness of and commitment to that goal acting as antidote to the deadening translation of instrumental means into ends in themselves.[8] Yet the ritualization of means into ends was a threat to the school through its Form Masters, whose intense disavowal of academic traditionalism and concern for the potentialities of their students only partially offset their devotion to creative individuality, social disinterestedness, and not infrequent metaphysical fantasies. For some of these, freedom, but without the concern or involvement of the Dadaists, might have been more enticing than the goals of their own institution. At any rate, neither the goals of the Bauhaus nor those of the Dada movement were conceived and clarified in overtly social terms, and society, as it understood those goals, rejected them.

When, during the revolutionary period, social and cultural change became a definite possibility, the German artist-intellectuals revived long cherished goals. Supporting those goals were beliefs in a rational mankind and the existence of basic psychological similarities in men. During the early months of great excitement, hopes blossomed for the formation of a community of individuals in which the artist-intellectuals would participate. Concentrating on "what" was to be achieved and only cursorily considering "how" it would be achieved,[9] their visions implied a leap from idea to reality, a type of millenarian belief that required no consideration of means, which might contradict their ideals, or of reality;[10] these artist-intellectuals were men of

dreams, not of deeds. Moreover, regardless of the concern voiced for the problem of art and the people, or that of the relationship between the artist-intellectual and society, the utopian goals envisioned by the participants in the Work-Council for Art, by Dadaists, and by members of the Bauhaus, were for the artist-intellectuals alone, rather than for them as one of many groups composing society. They proved themselves unable to judge the desires and capabilities of those people on whose behalf they professed a desire to act.[11] Their goals not only transcended the realm of the probable, but they soared beyond the conceivable for "the people."

Aware of the absolute need for a popular ideal or goal to stimulate and direct the creation of a new Germany,[12] the artist-intellectuals made every effort in this behalf, to the point of pathos. As one writer in the circle around the *Action* stated it, "We lack a utopia! Utopia, that is the goal of all truly living men, that is the ideal for which one [longs] to die . . . nothing is so . . . utopian as this ideal, unity in belief, in love, in hope for humanity."[13] Humanity was an ideal, but in the wake of a lost war, and a peace that was seen by many as being little more than a continuation of the war with no chance for defense,[14] it held little attraction for most Germans. It was the need for a belief, which a majority of Germans would embrace, that could not be filled by the utopias of the artist-intellectuals on the left. Such utopias as goals had to command commitment sufficiently strong to make possible a resistance of minority efforts to interfere with their achievement: not only could none of the postulated goals fill this role, but neither could anything more definite than the vague ideas of love, community, and humanity be agreed upon. Incoherent goal definition weakened efforts at construction by denying the orientation necessary for planning and acting, and determined minority opposition was able to help prolong the unacceptable semi-structured situation and form a core for the redirecting of those efforts. The vague and misunderstood new values and goals posed for post-war Germany presented to the people no attractive alternatives to traditional values and goals; other groups drew upon the latter and incorporated them into a new conservatism and a new nationalism, and acceptable goals emerged to challenge and then supersede, with relative ease, the hazy and incomplete constructs of the artist-intellectuals and the Weimar Republic.

In the months after the revolution, the new government in its attempt to establish a republican and democratic Germany had sought to define a clear-cut goal for the German people. Meeting first in February, 1919, the National Assembly completed a constitution for the Republic with amazing rapidity, and it went into effect on August 14, 1919. As important as was the constitution, there was still the need for a symbol of the new Germany, to help unify the people and transform the new constitutional structure into one popularly accepted and supported. A first effort in this direction had been the selection of Weimar as the site for the National Assembly. Among immediate

reasons for selecting a city other than Berlin were the security it afforded in the face of continuing demonstrations and revolts throughout much of Germany[15] and to suggest a breaking away from Prussian domination that might assuage the long existing hatred for Prussia, Berlin, and Potsdam. The spirit of Weimar, of Goethe and Schiller, of the arts and the intellect, was to replace the spirit of Potsdam and Prussia, of Frederick II and Bismarck, of militarism and blood and iron,[16] which is but to say that emphasis was being shifted from the objective to the subjective sphere, doing nothing to rectify the problems created by such a dualistic approach. But all would be accomplished so long as the people adhered to the underlying traditions of order and duty. For those not quite so willing to follow the lead established by the Majority Socialists, who held the dominant position in the national government, Weimar did not provide an untarnished symbol. That the city was being retreated to even in part for defensive measures suggested to some that its "Spirit" was "in truth the spirit of fear, fear of the revolution," with defenses being set up against the German people.[17] And Weimar was mocked by Dadasoph Raoul Hausmann: "I am not only against the spirit of Potsdam—I am above all against Weimar . . . . The formerly so Christian German has become Goethe-Ebert-Schiller-Scheidemann. . . ."[18] There seemed no real justification for believing that a new Germany was being formed.[19] Christianity, relegated to its position within the sphere of the ideal, had had no effect on the actions of the German, and neither would the heritage of Goethe and Schiller, an object of admiration and pride, but hardly an integral part of the German.

To find a symbolic focus for the loyalty of the people to a new state, and at the same time to avoid relinquishing ties with the past, a furious dispute was waged over the question of a German flag.[20] Controversy centered upon the selection of colors: should they be those of the revolution of 1848, black, red and gold, or the black, red and white of the Second Empire? Neither choice could symbolize a Germany that had undergone a social, political, and cultural transformation, but either would be in accord with the attitude of those who asserted that there had in fact been no revolution. In 1848 there had been a bourgeois effort at a partial revolution with the complicity of those in power, which, if successful, would at best have been a compromise. The compromise flag solution arrived at in 1919 properly symbolized what had occurred in 1918-1919: another partial bourgeois revolution, but this time including the abdication of the German Emperor and other aristocratic rulers, came to a temporary compromise with the conservative order of the Second Empire. Black, red, and gold were chosen as the national colors, and the merchant marine would sail under the old Imperial colors, with the new national flag restated in the upper left-hand corner of the merchant marine banner. Adherence to the city of Weimar and the national flag in their comprehensive symbolic senses would have indicated a reassertion of old German ideals, and might have ended the conflict

between old and new, thereby avoiding the ambiguity and ambivalence accompanying and undermining constructive efforts; it might also have been a key to the (realistic?) acceptance of a need to reconstruct a modified Germany, rather than seek to build an entirely new nation, hopes for the success of which were virtually untenable. Unclear and questionable goal orientation reflected the ambivalence surrounding the Weimar Republic, which was made no more acceptable through the efforts of the artist-intellectuals.

Hesitant as to whether Germany could in fact build an acceptable new socio-political structure, and opposed as they generally were to nationalism, the artist-intellectuals significantly based their initial hopes upon an expected revolution of feelings that, when actualized, would bring with it a realization of the idea of humanity in an "international of the human spirit."[21] Assuming their own successfully achieved revolution of feelings, they asserted that others could do the same. But to be meaningful, that revolution and the community to be established could not be restricted to a national level. Thus, the dismay was great following the signing and publication of the peace treaty: everything was again as it had been before the war, "because on paper stands the 'Society of Nations,' not the Union of Peoples that alone can guarantee peace to the world."[22] Such a belief was accepted as a self-evident necessity, and its previous denial was seen as having been a major factor leading to war. But, as has already been suggested, the ideal of humanity was not a basis upon which one could build a new Germany. Not only was this utopian goal too general and elusive for the mass of German people, but it also closely paralleled, and was challenged by, the "conservative transcendental form of utopia" incorporated in Lutheranism and opposed to any form of this-worldly utopian socialism.[23]

Of greater importance in relation to the quest for a goal than the inability of essentially apolitical artist-intellectuals to establish one for the nation was the Socialist Party's previous surrendering of its own. In 1914, the Socialist Party repudiated the gospel of humanity in the limited sense of international workers' solidarity and voted to support national and, as Socialists themselves asserted, established material interests. This decision spurred already existing dissension within the Party, which by 1918-1919 had resulted in a splintering-off of the "radical" Socialists that was confirmed by the subsequent need as the Party in power, rather than in opposition, to translate theory into viable government programs. Not only was positive initiative essential to the development of meaningful national programs, but it had to be accompanied by popular support, which could only be attracted and directed by a promising goal that went beyond the Republic that Germans felt being forced upon them. The Socialists compromised themselves out of the possibility of establishing such a transcendent goal. Whatever efforts in this direction might nevertheless still have been pursued were short-circuited by the mere existence of a number of

political parties unwilling to compromise their own vague but firm positions. In fact, there existed several "guiding" ideas, rather than none, with the same result initially as if there were a total lack of aims: there was no basis for determining the means with which to create the new socio-political structure.

Contrasted with the lack of either symbol or concrete goal as an effective national focal point for constructive efforts, Walter Gropius and his colleagues drew upon the medieval ideal and depicted the cathedral as symbolic of a spirit of unity, harmonious cooperation, and humanity.[24] There was a very real quest, through the imagination and with models, to reify that spirit in a symbol understandable for all. Emphasis upon a symbolic expression of the spiritual community they strove for indicated to some degree the intensity of the artist-intellectuals' wish, and perhaps also an intuitive realization that only through something akin to the spiritual nature of the idealized cathedral might an effective relationship between artists and people be constructed. In terms more concrete than the abstract eulogizing of utopia and humanity,[25] the progressive artists and critics referred to the cathedral and unequivocally expressed their ultimate hopes: "We want a generation that is able to build cathedrals in a structural and a verbal sense."[26] This was a response not only to a Germany in dire straits, but to the West and even to the world; success in the artist-intellectuals' search for a meaningful ideal might have made possible a viable League of Nations as well as a new Germany. For so long not a part of any community, for so long observers of the triumph of industrialization and materialism, hopeful of resolving at least some of the problems that might result in another war, and finding nothing else, many artist-intellectuals turned to the cathedral and all it implied. Commenting upon this phenomenon, the art historian Wilhelm Worringer noted that the "invisible cathedral," all that remained of spiritualism in the world, was "born out of nothing other than the perplexed strength of intensity of the lonely lost ego."[27] Along with the positive meaning of the cathedral as a symbol went the very real danger that it would become an end in itself, losing all significance as a guide for action, thereby reemphasizing rather than bridging the gap between the artist-intellectuals and society: the cathedral had to be kept in proper perspective.[28] Whatever the risks run by stressing the importance of a symbol invested with intense affect, it had to be done, for only with an ideal as stimulus and goal could far-reaching societal changes be pursued with any chance for success.

Hopes for actualizing the community of mankind were predicated upon the artist-intellectuals' belief that the necessary unifying bonds could be founded upon humanity and the common Judaeo-Christian ethic. This idealistic, romantic belief, like the idea of a return to the handicrafts, appeared to suggest a desire to escape the realities of an industrial age, with which construction had to be co-ordinated. Removed from proper context and elaborated upon in semi-mystical terms, the intended guiding ideal of the human community would

become an ill-conceived and ill-fated attempt at escapism.[29] To prevent a debasing of both the ideal(s) and efforts to realize it (them), the ivory towers that artists and intellectuals with secure institutional ties[30] tended, easily and almost inevitably, to construct and reside in, had to be shattered. But there was no shattering of towers in a general sense, just as it proved impossible to entirely prevent symbols, intermediate goals, and means from becoming ends, all of which contributed to maintain the distance between artist-intellectual and public. Thus, engrossed in their efforts to establish a model community adaptable to society-at-large, the members of the Bauhaus unwittingly drew upon unsupported preconceptions and subtle misconceptions about the needs and desires of man as he was, rather more entranced by man as he might be. They were unable to recognize and incorporate fully into their model the new meaning community had to be given within the context of post-war industrial society.[31] At least tacitly acknowledged, though, was a need to base the community upon the broadest possible foundation. The nature of industrial society, including among other things extreme fluidity with constantly changing individual relationships and places of residence, and decreasing family-centeredness, required that human bonds and interaction be founded upon some extremely general concept. In this sense, the fundamental idea of "humanity," when elevated to the realm of the future possible and not displaced to that of the past/non-repeatable, was neither as romantic nor as escapist as it might be initially interpreted.[32] This transcendent, secularized, very general ideal would be able to persist in an atmosphere of constant and rapid change, without specific territorial roots or blood relationships. Although they paid lip service to the idea of a revived German nation, Gropius and the artist-intellectuals with whom he was in accord advocated a concept that had nothing to do, necessarily, with Germany; the nation, at best, was considered an intermediate step in the course of achieving an international community, somewhat similar, but on a larger scale, to the model community being established in the Bauhaus. Analogously, the non-proscriptive, non-prescriptive freedom that the Dadaists advocated was not and could not be specifically German. For the artist-intellectuals the question remained of involving the German people in constructive efforts without having to compromise the humanistic ideals necessary to overcome, ultimately, the dichotomy of the nation-state and supra-national humanity.

In naive good faith, the left-oriented artist-intellectuals continued to laud the concept of community. With its foundation in humanity as an ideal, it had an historical basis for the West in the universality of the Christian heritage, the European Enlightenment, and the French Revolution's ideals of liberty, equality, and brotherhood. (Infrequently considered as a possible product of these ideals, in addition to community and unity, was the total freedom of the Dadaists, which could contradict the other goals.) Although community as such had earlier been a favorite concept of some of the Expressionist groups,

primary importance was now apparently shifted from the physical to the spiritual association, and proclaimed repeatedly by the progressive and, even more so, radical artist-intellectuals.[33] But understanding of such a concept was not common, and the advocacy of relationships between individuals based upon that transcendent, platonic bond, rather than upon social norms, invited skepticism. Especially problematic was the visualization of a situation wherein what seemed to imply anarchical individualism would be coterminous with human solidarity. Thus even Gropius, whose understanding of this idea was not so clear as one might have expected, asserted that the visionary architect Bruno Taut could not fit into any community: "His fate is to remain alone; he should recognize that and draw the consequences."[34] Were this sort of analysis generally applied, then Gropius should early have drawn an equally pessimistic conclusion about the Bauhaus Form Masters' abilities to realize his programmatic idea of "unity in multiplicity"; just as this was not considered a utopian impossibility, so should not have been the more general dynamic interrelationship of individual and community that would have allowed even greater leeway for creative individuality.

For community to become reality, it had to be tied in with socialism: the conflicting economic interests of a capitalistic, class society made it impossible for the members of different classes to associate in a broad community, within which relationships based upon specific obligations and rights, including the subservience of some individuals to others and the continued existence of man's exercising rights over man, could be discarded.[35] This essentially intuitive belief was buoyed by the model of the Soviet Union, which suggested the possibility of finally stripping away an artificial social superstructure and realizing the human spirit of unity. Humanity and the spirit of unity, according to the Dadaists, were and had to be understood as human characteristics, to be realized in living. For Gropius and the Bauhaus, dedication to the goal of unity was a necessary prerequisite to the successful translation of idea into reality.

In the light of an acknowledged need for means commensurate with the postulated socio-political structure, the complete freedom preached by the Dadaists was much more utopian than the community and synthesis sermonized upon in the early Bauhaus manifestoes. An unstructured, anarchical (vis-à-vis traditional systems) situation, for which most of the Dadaists professed a desire,[36] presumed a spiritual or psychological revolution of greater magnitude and complexity than what would have been necessary for the development of a system retaining definite prescriptive and proscriptive norms,[37] even though given new content and meaning. Dada's ideal was not realizable within the bounds of any social system as we know them, though perhaps within the bounds of many as they might be. The Dadaists hoped to stimulate the development of man out of the sources of his greatest strength, his potential and his freedom of choice, and were determined to disregard man's unwillingness to

turn to his own inner strength. Pointedly deriding those artist-intellectuals who desired something definite, in agreement with the majority of men, Kurt Schwitters asserted that, from their tenuously realistic standpoint, they were seeking to establish a goal that, if realized, might deny others their freedom. "Only" those individuals, themselves unable to accept the condition of the absurd or find meaning in life without the justification afforded by definite goals, sought "technology, morals, ideas, [the] cathedral, in short: a program."[38] In line with their exceptional and generally unacceptable aims, the Dadaists drew up a mock reform program,[39] thereby basically rejecting the mass of people who required goals and the means whereby those goals might be achieved.

Overtly conveying an attitude of greater social concern, Gropius propagated aims and means supposedly understandable and acceptable on the basis of traditional conceptions concerning a social system. Already part of German architectural theory and its implications, the ideas in the Bauhaus program were in basic agreement with the thoughts of the moderately left-oriented artist-intellectuals. Among the ultimate aims was to educate society to the idea of unity in multiplicity, the up-dated community spirit, that Gropius sought to transform into and maintain as a reality in the Bauhaus. That educative role was a point for debate, with Gropius seeing those who left the Bauhaus going out into the world as missionaries of a definite idea,[40] which would in fact require a compromising of the concept "unity in multiplicity" in the process of delineating the missionary role. On the other hand, aware of the time necessary for such preparation and not ambivalent in his approach to "unity in multiplicity," Gerhard Marcks suggested establishing "Bauhaus colonies": it would be better "that all Germany have something of our work than that we remain in isolated 'renown.' "[41] This difference suggests that Gropius in fact felt a need to establish a concrete representation of the idea of unity, while the Form Masters would not and could not consider any artificial impositions upon their work, and were all the more devoted to the idea as such as a basis for unity.[42] If the spirit of community was common to all men, then it—not its representation—would effectively transcend the inharmonious struggle of all against all, a panacea for characteristically human aggressiveness, and at the same time would allow total freedom to each individual in responsible awareness of the whole. It was not political or bureaucratic prescription that would dictate the development and maintenance of solidarity, but characteristic socio-psychological affinities. Similarly, only through basic human characteristics could the individuals in the Bauhaus be held together as a group: for them, as for the Dadaists, the positive, unifying bond could not be political or artistic agreement, but it could be the humanity rooted in and, at the same time, transcending individuals.[43] Human beings striving to attain "what might be," regardless of the specific nature of the means employed, formed the core for the creative efforts of the Bauhaus, just as human beings striving to do away with that

which need not be held the key to the cooperative destructiveness of the Dadaists.

Slightly previous to the formation of the Bauhaus, Gropius indicated that the nature of the spirit of unity was to correspond to that underlying the spirit of the medieval work cottages *(Bauhütten)*, but "naturally corresponding to the changed age."[44] The integrative focus for the Bauhaus community was an ideal that, as in the Middle Ages, transcended the individual, only now to be expressed through dedication to the secular ideal of humanity, rather than anonymous subordination to a supernatural belief. A new architecture would convey to society the transformed community feeling, symbolized by the Cathedral of the Future. Hopefully, this feeling would be developed to the point where it was neither dichotomous with nor subordinate to industrial society, but would enrich that society and be inculcated as a living concept into the everyday world.[45]

In theory, the Bauhaus was also a place where youthful students would have the opportunity to work together with their teachers, obtaining breadth and depth of insight into the nature of a working community. Because of the importance of the idea of community for them, every effort was exerted to transform it into a reality, at least during the early Weimar years. Among the major hindrances to such, if not *the* vital one, was the problem of adjusting to the idea that community spirit and acquiescence in the quest to attain certain goals could be accompanied by the exercising of responsible individuality within loosely-defined institutional bounds. In updating the community concept, the hope was to relate the characteristics of community with those of society in a dynamic manner: it was to be a social and work community, the roles and positions within which would be in part specific and in part general in their orientation and nature, the emotional commitment to which would be to humanity as well, and for which both individual and collective were of vital importance.[46] Such would have been the most viable situation for the Bauhaus, with its creative potential rooted in individuals and greatly dependent upon transcending the tendency to anarchical individualism. Accordingly, at no time in those formative years was it expected that all individuality would be "sacrificed to the general" concept,[47] and some of the Form Masters expressed a very positive regard for the creative potential rooted in the concept of unity in multiplicity.[48] Although differing in their attitudes regarding participation in the community, the painters of the Bauhaus, as Form Masters, directed the crafts shops and were very much involved in the practical work of the Weimar years,[49] and had a definite, though limited, work relationship with the students that was beneficial to the spirit of community.

During the early years of the Bauhaus, apparently only Gropius and Lothar Schreyer, who had been especially active in the Storm group in Berlin, were whole-heartedly devoted to the community spirit, including a relative

subordination of individual creativity to that spirit. Gropius's position was unique: as director of the Bauhaus, his status as an individual was assured; moreover, with no architectural department in the Weimar Bauhaus, he maintained a private practice and, devoted though he was to the concept of collaboration, team projects carried his imprint. Schreyer was the most vocal supporter of the concept of community in its fullest sense, and artistically was the weakest talent on the Bauhaus staff.[50] Johannes Itten was the first of Gropius's recruits to leave the school, his major reason being that self-development and self-realization of the total individual demanded opposition to any channeling of that development through consideration of either the community or industry. Similar in content, though not in degree, were the beliefs of Feininger, Klee, Marcks, and Kandinsky.[51] Kandinsky's attitude was very much influenced by his disappointment with post-revolutionary Russia, which dictated his departure from his homeland and led him to assert that "the individual is the bearer of the future, and the collective belongs to the past."[52] Nevertheless, he too participated in the Bauhaus and its workshops.

Within the realm of independent work, Oskar Schlemmer showed a creative concern for community greater than that of any other Form Master, and seems to have been seeking most conscientiously for an equilibrium point between individual and community. The human figure, in its being and its becoming, was more prominent in Schlemmer's work than in that of the others (setting aside Klee's work and considerations of architecture); individual characteristics were submerged as he sought the underlying unity between men, in relation to one another and to the surrounding space.[53] Schlemmer explained the development of his "Triadic Ballet," with reference to the number "three," as an effort to overcome the monomaniacal ego and dualistic opposition and to initiate the collective in its richest sense.[54] He envisioned the problem of community in ambivalent terms, encompassing an intense desire for a meaningful involvement of the individual in society and an equally intense desire for individual solitude; a conflict between hiding oneself in space as part of a greater whole and being lost in space; a conflict between community as protection and fulfillment and community as a stifling prison; and a conflict between individuality as freedom and individuality as lonely isolation.[55] Resolution of the problem depended upon determining and then attaining the proper point on a continuum beween two poles, rather than following the line of reasoning that relegated individual and community to two entirely different and incompatible planes. Not a synthesis of the polar characteristics, but a dynamic equilibrium state between them seemed the most desirable solution, and the one most viable for a community dependent upon the individuals *qua* individuals who composed it. Ideals and values could not be established collectively, but only by the elements composing that collective, were the values and ideals to be vital; they did depend upon the collective for their realization, and, thus, upon the unity to be derived

of multiplicity.

Unity in multiplicity was carried to an extreme by the Dadaists. Their utopian concept of freedom lacked any objectively definable focal point, and there was no recourse to any structural societal elements. Unity among individuals would be achieved on the basis of common human characteristics; values and efforts effecting real unity would be determined individually, or not at all, and by their historical rootedness would assure amenability to collective meaningfulness. The apparently nonsensical forms of expression in simultaneous and noise poems suggested that, if one disregarded any underlying sense amid nonsense, ultimate significance was to be sought in the human being and in the process of creating, not in the work itself. With their emphasis on humanity, the Dadaists hoped to aid in the redirectioning of art to the goal of the "mature human being."[56] Were unity achieved through basic human meaning, it would be a unity defiant of negation through the acceptance of overt meaninglessness of the world; it would also enable the discarding of any ultimate justification for actions that had formerly been sought and found in values and reasons irrelevant to the individual, living being. Uncharacteristically Dadaistic was Johannes Baader's assertion that "the belief in God was a rule of the game for human consciousness during the age when man did not know that the earth, as everything else, is a part of heaven. No God is necessary for world-conscious(ness)."[57] When and if man realized that he was alone among men in this world, that he reaps what he has sown and must live with what he reaps, he might act in a humanely responsible way. Man was responsible for any "utopia" that might be his, and man as individual could alone define utopia, just as he alone could achieve a meaningful utopia. More practically, what was to be made of Germany in the 1920s was for Germans to decide and for Germans to do.

> 'Not the world revolution, but only dear God can save us' says Germania, according to the *New Berliner* of June 6, in the year 1 [1919] of Dada. However, since the dear God is only a Dadaist fiction, something that no one who has observed this intangible, fabulous creature, changing according to taste, and has studied it in practice from all sides, can deny, so will man hold with the creator *dada* rather than with the fiction. Because dada is the creator of all things and God and the world revolution and the world court . . . at the same time. It is no fiction, but tangible for human beings. And the game that is played in heaven between the stars is the dada game, and all living and dead beings are its players.[58]

Replacing the words "Dadaist" with "individualist" and "dada" with "individual" or "life" in the above passage, which would concur with a Dadaist interpretation, one obtains an extremely individualistic, existential-type analysis of this world, portraying in fact the one positive Dadaist fundamental for a life of individuals upon earth without imposed systematization. Such an interpretation might be taken to task by most analyzers of Dada and, perhaps, by

most (former) Dadaists, as imbuing the Dada movement with rationality and understandability, which is validated neither by the intentions of the Dadaists nor by the fact of a world that had seemingly lost both. Nevertheless, that is the necessary implication of the Dada movement in raising a challenge to the rationalizations that passed for the foundations of the Western world, and which had exploded in war; they sought new, dynamic values upon which to base a world responsive to the individual, and, thereby, meaningful. With social forms freed from the danger of ossification, the individual would have to grapple with a world that was neither pre-determined nor indeterminate, a world to be constructed anew every day out of creative energy and free choice. As the individual should bear ultimate responsibility for his own destruction and the destruction of that "world without war" existing before 1914, so should it be his responsibility to create a new world. People had to be convinced that the retention of an old value base would negate efforts to find and to cope with the new world, a world not to be other-determined and imposed upon them, but rooted within individuals and thereby guaranteed of vitality. Rooted within men and drawing upon characteristics common to all, the new values would make possible a community of mankind.

Basic to Bauhaus aims, the spirit of community was a constant concern and a constant problem. At a meeting of the Masters and students (Journeymen and Apprentices) of the Bauhaus in the Fall of 1920, young Georg Muche, recently arrived director of the weaving shop, who had struck up a close friendship with Johannes Itten, asserted that the basis for community was in a common goal, to be achieved only through the action of the community, as opposed to the individual. Such community action was possible only if preceded by the willing suppression of differences of views and of criticism of colleagues. At the same time, cognizance had to be taken of the fact that there existed two groups in the Bauhaus, those teaching and those learning: the concern of the latter should be individual development rather than any higher goals. Muche implied, contrary to ideas postulated in the Bauhaus program, that there could not exist a spirit of community transcending formal, traditional lines, that the spirit of traditional education had to and did exist in the Bauhaus, and that individual development and collective aims were mutually exclusive. Such an attitude could only exacerbate tensions between the individual and the community, which might be glossed over with effort but which could hardly be dispelled, nor was such desired, since an equilibrium between the two was sought. Disheartened by what seemed to be happening in the Bauhaus, Gropius criticized the use of the term "community" *(Gemeinschaft)*, which had quickly become a catchword; there was a very real danger that the "community" would come to be composed of cliques rather than existing and developing as an organic whole, if everyone did not involve himself in the effort to realize the spirit of unity. Furthermore, playing individuality against community, the students were

opposing everything suggestive of pressure or regulations, which were necessary for the maintenance of an organization, and were using this as justification for staying away from classes and workshops.[59] Realization of unity in multiplicity, working within organizational bounds, was a challenge to the strength of the individualism of both teachers and students, with individual strength, in turn, both a challenge to community and a necessity, were the individual not to be submerged and forced to surrender his positively contributory potential. The major effort was dependent upon the students, for it would be in them and through them that the goals of the Bauhaus would become reality, if at all: rapid maturation of character and self-discipline were required and demanded. Only through the working together of the community had the cathedral of the Middle Ages has been constructed, and only through a similar, total working together would the spirit of the Bauhaus be created.[60]

Rooted as it would have to be in the attitudes of individuals, evidence of the spirit sought by the Bauhaus was not expected in the creations of the traditionally educated (but anti-traditional) and intensely individualistic Form Masters, although suggestions of it did appear in the work of Schlemmer, for one, and Feininger, for another.[61] That spirit had at least to be understood sympathetically and in its ramifications by the Form Masters, were it to be stimulated in the students and realized to any significant degree in their creations. As director of the Introductory Course responsible for initiating students into the world of the Bauhaus, Itten raised the strongest initial challenge to this effort, and to the spirit of unity itself. For him, the spirit was something very mystical, and had nothing to do with the empirical world; a gap between the real and the ideal was given justification by Itten, and formed a threat to Bauhaus aims that had to be opposed.[62] Sympathizing with Itten, Muche seemed not to have been fully aware of the problems created by that attitude, in so far as duality was a question. He did sense many problems related to Bauhaus unity, though he often expressed his concern with startling naivete, and showed his lack of understanding for the role of an overriding ideal with the assertion that only a superficial goal could acclaim the adherence of all the Bauhaus individualists. Muche contended that—by December, 1921—a lack of unity in thought, will, and direction had become evident in the Masters' Council, and was not to be expected to prevail in the Bauhaus. Only if all embraced the goals *and* agreed upon the means whereby to achieve them could the concept of "unity in multiplicity" prove workable. By identifying one's work with that of the Bauhaus, aiming at one goal and limiting action in order that it be effective, it would be possible to validate the conviction of the progressive artist-intellectuals "that the creative ideas of the present require[d] a broad base, that they [were] able to be realized not merely in painting, but in life itself."[63] Collective effectiveness was apparently going to be impossible, and there would be a complete individuation of teaching methods in class and workshop, essentially a resurrec-

tion of the academy, which was perhaps the only valid approach to art education (and what was to happen with the Bauhaus in Dessau).

Remaining "more romantic vision than practical goal . . .," the idea at the base of the Bauhaus was nevertheless "necessary."[64] Throughout the Weimar period, efforts were made to implement the elusive spirit. Accepting the reality of separate and distinct workshops in the school, Schlemmer proposed to overcome the tendency to separatism by designating a certain color for each shop, with a Bauhaus flag to be made that would unite those colors, a project "not to be undervalued for the community spirit."[65] But even with such efforts as Schlemmer's, the relationship between director and teachers, and between director, teachers, and students deteriorated.[66] The ideal was kept in sight, but the effort demanded to create a new reality, even within this select group, was apparently greater than all wished to make. In part the result of increased demands upon Gropius in dealing with the external problems of the Bauhaus, in part the result of a stronger affinity among Form Masters than between Form Masters and Handicrafts Masters, or between Form Masters and students, the institution's hopes of influencing reality were belied. An awareness of the meaning of the experiment, but not self-righteousness in its undertaking, and preservation of the informal aspects of the Bauhaus community were essential to keeping alive the initial exuberance for reform.[67] An increasing separation of the Form Masters from both Gropius and other members of the Bauhaus was attributed to exceptional "*human* qualities" of the Form Masters and to their concern with "deeper realities,"[68] suggesting that while the Form Masters were still devoted to the ultimate goals of the Bauhaus, no one else was of sufficient ability to be so. One of the difficulties for Gropius was that, as director, he had to deal with the external threat to the Bauhaus; he also had to coordinate intra-organizational activities; bearing the major responsibility for the school and the achievement of its goals, at times he seemed undoubtedly to be "betraying" the norms of the Form Masters as he concerned himself with "real" problems.[69] Experiential differences, including education, when added to any gaps that might be the results of individualism and the beginning of the practical effort to translate the ideal into reality, were bound to temper the fire of the quest for the spirit of community.

Rifts coming to the surface were intensified during the period of preparation for the Bauhaus Exhibit to be held in the Summer of 1923. Early in that year, Marcel Breuer, a student who was later to become a Master in the Bauhaus (see illustrations, p. 61, upper, left and right), wrote in a derisive and mocking tone, with reference to the many petty and few significant problems, that he wished "no longer to have a special position in *this* (Bauhaus) community. The spiritual association!"[70] An internal procedural change drew comparable comments from Schlemmer: the Bauhaus Council, an expanded version of the original Masters' Council, was not being consistently informed of the selection of

students for Journeymen, or of their candidacy for that position, before the announcements were made to the students. Were this practice not rectified, a seeming punishment meted the Form Masters for not being all that the Bauhaus would have liked them to be, then "farewell community! Idea! Interest in the Bauhaus! Long live isolation, the private studio, the ego!"[71] Both the idea and the problems continued.

Regardless of these difficulties and the ultimate inability to transform the spirit of unity and community into reality in the sense originally intended, there still existed in many of the Bauhaus participants a feeling for community in heart and mind. This subjective reality could hardly be assessed by outsiders or by those who only briefly participated in the Bauhaus, and for whom such a feeling never did exist. Assertions that there existed in the Bauhaus only inner quarrels and no community[72] formed a somewhat valid assessment of the objective situation; in subjective terms, this was true only in part, and many of the quarrels derived from the search for community itself. Evidence of a very real spirit of community within the context of unity in multiplicity persisted, although it was never a general trait, did not consistently transcend the boundary between teacher and student as intended, and was perhaps confined in its greatest intensity to the Form Masters. Indicating his desire to leave the Bauhaus because his obligation to himself and to his family conflicted with his role as a teacher, Feininger emphasized that his "most inner concern [was and] is our 'Bauhaus community,' " to which he could not be untrue.[73] Gropius replied, in some dismay, that Feininger's departure would be a loss for the Bauhaus and the "Bauhaus chain, even were it only apparent."[74] Shortly thereafter, while noting relief that he would no longer be a member of the Bauhaus after the decision had been made that the ceramics workshop would not be moved to Dessau, Marcks stated that he had gained much from the association, "out of community feeling, or something."[75] A feeling of unity, tenuous and intangible, defiant of precise definition, wherein lay both its strength and its weakness, had existed. But efforts to develop and to maintain that feeling as all pervasive, and to form relationships between art and a world of industry and technology, were challenged and impeded in the atmosphere of Weimar, where a desire for tangible results finally prevailed, after the unsettling Summer Exhibit in 1923.[76] Besides the external difficulties during the Weimar years, including those of a political, economic, and practical nature, the basic meaning of unity in multiplicity was not resolved, nor was the question regarding *how*, in concrete terms, the program of the Bauhaus was going to be implemented.[77] Within the general reform, as opposed to revolutionary, context of the Weimar Bauhaus, and lacking any radical transformation of that context, it was impossible to delineate effective means with which to achieve the spirit of unity and to convey that spirit to society; the attractive guiding goals of the Bauhaus were transformed into unrealizable utopian schemes.

An effort was made in the Bauhaus to realize, on a small scale, the community rooted in humanity, about which the progressive artist-intellectuals had been so outspoken during and following the revolution. Among the Dadaists, too, there were a few individuals who, as individuals rather than as Dadaists, were concerned with the problem of community in a sense that went beyond the accepted generalizations about humanity. Here one is again confronted with ambivalent attitudes in a social desire for and an individualist antipathy to community, comparable to that expressed by Schlemmer.[78] Every individual had to find his own way to effectiveness; Raoul Hausmann asserted that ". . . 'we' is no compromise between leaders—'we' destroys the leader also; *'we' is all or I;* 'we' is the community, the destruction of the secure being . . ., the power of (foreign) laws over human beings!"[79] Community, to be acceptable, had to be rooted in each individual, not dictated from without; community could not be creative or significant in any vital sense if it was only to compensate for human weaknesses. Community achieved through strength, through "unity in multiplicity," was a goal worthy of support. In some points, Hausmann's view was similar to that held by the Bauhaus's Lothar Schreyer: the community as a significant social and human collectivity would be the result of the growth of individuals.[80] If, as might be determined through the traditional dualistic mode of thought, it was necessary to opt for either the individual or the community, then the Dadaist, with Hausmann as an exemplary representative, was all for the individual, to the point of exclusive advocacy of the idea of the self.[81] Hausmann tempered such a stand in light of his pessimistic and realistic assessment of the situation in Germany, while at the same time posing something of a philosophical basis for the extreme individualism of the Dadaists. To avoid a compromise and a subsequent overpowering of the individual by the community, Hausmann accepted a temporary truce in the fight to refute the idea of dualism, which could in fact be transcended only when the individual was sufficiently aware, responsible, and strong to avoid being victimized by the collective. In the moment that the individual reached this stage, dualism would fall with no resistance. In contrast to this view was that held by Walter Gropius, in his more optimistic and less realistic appraisal of man seen in terms of the artist-intellectual, which emphasized the complementariness of the self and the whole, a polar situation that he tried to develop among those in the Bauhaus.[82] Although differing in approach and degree, both men were at one in opposing the "blind subordination of the self [and the disappearance of the individual] under pressure of the other [that is, the whole, or society; under pressure] of the idea of subordination [held by] militarism and capitalism; [under pressure] of the former state, to the dictatorship of the proletarian mass. . . ."[83] On the other hand was the Communist-inspired idea, held by Wieland Herzfelde and parroted by George Grosz at times, but in all sincerity, that in community the individual would be able to realize his full

potential. Community was positive, good, and supreme. Ultimately, the artist-intellectual, if he aided efforts to realize the classless society, would be ready for participation in a new and wonderful community of men, a community that would be the ultimate transformation of society.[84] By surrendering the bohemian style of life, the life of the lone, embattled individual, and following the proper call of social justice, the artist-intellectual would become part of a community of true individuals. Sincere reflections upon such possibilities for the future contributed to the demise of Dada and the relinquishing by some of the Dadaists of a real, though not total, powerlessness in exchange for the illusory omnipotence of Marxist historical inevitability.

Among the Dadaists, Franz Jung had been most concerned with the positive concept of community; his hope to publicize that concept among working-class individuals was part of his contribution to a Communist restructuring of the world, and a reason for his having left the Dada movement. According to Jung, community was no longer a completely inexplicable feeling, no longer an entirely mystical sense of basic human unity: it existed in both a subjective and an objective sense, and could be participated in by all through inner courage and conviction.[85] Only through the strength of its adherents, as opposed to a devotion to some external embodiment of community, would the vigor of the community be guaranteed. In the community of mankind, the individual would fully discover himself and would be able to rise to his creative potential. He would prove community the "complete contrary to [and replacement for] God"; in the community, not in God, man would find the creative life and real happiness.[86] Without the community, man, as mass man, was alone and lonely, confused and helpless;[87] within the community, man would find the power to act positively and to create, to gain an understanding of the vibrant and the living, and to take part in the community's judgment of justice and truth.[88] Jung's picture of the worker was that of a man prone to self-indulgence, with quarrels more to be expected than the peaceful creativity that was essential following a revolution, and of these failings the worker had to be made aware. Accordingly, many of Jung's books and plays were directed to that end, and intended to aid the worker in understanding the significance of community and to suggest what had to be done to translate the conception into reality.[89] His concern with positive involvement in the construction of a new society, upon lines that he felt were correct, had led Jung to end his participation in Dadaist activities before the publication of any of his worker-oriented books; but there was also his anarchical tendency, which was much stronger than that of any other Dadaist, that may have determined him to concern himself with the community of workers, in which he could really not participate,[90] as opposed to the "community" of Dadaists, which he might have felt a threat to his individuality.

There did exist for the Dadaists a community of feeling that made for

unity in action, if not unanimity in attitude. In general, to explain the spirit of unity or community in positive terms was not their concern. In the best sense of the idealist, community was not something that had to be built, but rather something that had to be discovered by and within each individual; and then it had to be expressed with action, not merely contemplated. When and if people could be brought to understand how they had eradicated the humanity of human society, and that the solution lay with the individual and a transcending of the artificialities of society, then the new community might become reality.

In the above considerations, one is confronted with terms and ideas that suggest a very close similarity to some of those that lay the basis for anti-democratic attitudes and were among the components of National Socialist ideology.[91] A "spirit of unity" rooted in "humanity" and giving rise to, or forming the basis of, a "community of mankind": could anything more general have been preached? In their opposition to materialism, the artist-intellectuals advocated the role of the heart and the emotions; in opposition to mass man, they advocated the individual, not as isolated from his fellow, but in communion with him. The neo-conservatives' addition of qualifying adjectives to these concepts, making them more obviously relevant for the people to whom they were being suggested, was only to pervert their meaning and to retrace a path once before traversed, from cosmopolitanism to nationalism. Pointing to the Treaty of Versailles and the post-war treatment of Germany,[92] neo-conservatives (or "New Romanticists") suggested that justice would only be obtained through the "national community" *(Volksgemeinschaft)*, as opposed to the "human community," or "community of mankind" (referred to merely as *Gemeinschaft*, or in conjunction with *Menschheit*), a "community" that had humiliated the Fatherland. The former was regarded as a Germanic, and therefore, elite community of spirit and blood, given historical credibility by a conjured mythology. Rather than seek to infuse modern society with a new spirit, or to transform it into a new society by drawing upon all of man's knowledge, the "national community" challenged modern society, setting up a strict dichotomy of values, its own being inherently "good." "Community is good, society is evil; community is organic, society artificial; community is a creation of God, society a product of the human hand."[93] Moreover, democracy, as postulated by the countries of the West, was the creed of industrial society, and could only emphasize the direction that was being taken in Germany as it was undergoing industrialization before World War I; it would only magnify the evils of divisiveness, atomism, and materialism, flaws inherent in mass and pluralist societies.[94] Because the artist-intellectual believed both society and community to be human products, he held man responsible for both; generally opposed to the communal concept of society, as contrasted with a universal society, he did not equate life with community, as did ideologists of the totalitarian movements of

Right and Left. Although the artist-intellectuals accepted the importance of community for the construction of a new Germany, this was not a community that would be unique to Germany. Community would be a creation of man, a creation stemming from reason and heart, an equilibrium arrived at between traditional community and modern society,[95] based not upon absolute structures and ideas transcending man, but upon man as human being. God *was* dead, and people had to realize that *they* had to deal with the problems of this world, or surrender all claim to being a part of it, and relinquish all responsibility (often done quite willingly enough) for anything that was of this world. It was time for the German to become actively and responsibly involved in the determination of his own fate. For him to take this step, he needed more than the Dadaist offer of freedom, and the Bauhaus, for one, sought to give him more.

The feeling of community was something subjective that developed through the dedication of oneself to the same goal as other individuals, be it humanity, the nation, God, or whatever ideal; the attainment of that goal required desire, devotion, and intense effort. In that goal or, perhaps even more, in the meaning behind a cooperative striving among individuals to attain it, the artist-intellectual saw the key to the end of his isolation, something that would compensate for "the great, commonly-held idea or religion" that the age was lacking.[96] For the artist-intellectual, the major problem was to gain, or at least to influence, the leadership that he seemed to believe rightly belonged to him by virtue of his vision for the future. The true goal, the true ideal, hardly utopian in an ultimate sense either for the members of the Bauhaus or for the Dadaists and the other artist-intellectuals who held themselves aloof from systems and formulas, was the fullest realization of man.[97] Community was not something supra-human, but would be developed through the humanization of industrial society and materialistic man; the human being would be recognized and lauded as such, and not as a cog in a machine, nor as a role-complex at the mercy of a society that was his own creation. The realization of the Cathedral of the Future, as conceived by Gropius and at least acknowledged by the other members of the Bauhaus, depended upon the development of the spirit of human unity in a harmonious working-together towards the common goal of community in humanity. This presumed utopia was approached but not realized by the Bauhaus; the Dadaists could not realize their utopia alone. To achieve the really great work of art, a new and total life, symbolic in its concreteness and real in the vitality of its being, much more than a material and technological base was necessary: what was needed was the concurrence of mankind.

We have found parts, but not the whole!
We still lack the ultimate power, for:
The people are not with us.

But we seek a people. We began over there in the Bauhaus.
We began there with a community to which each one of us
gave what we had.
More we cannot do.[98]

NOTES

[1] Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge*, trans. L. Wirth and E. Shils (New York, 1936), pp. 205-211.

[2] Bruno Adler, ed., *Utopia: Dokumente der Wirklichkeit* (Weimar, 1921).

[3] For a discussion of such attacks, see below, pp. 108-110 and Chapter V, passim.

[4] See, for example, a general reference in Seeman, "On . . . Alienation" (1959), pp. 786 and 788, n. 18.

[5] Number 1 of "What is Dadaism and What Does It Want in Germany?," included in Huelsenbeck, "En Avant Dada . . .," in Motherwell, *Anthology*, p. 41, and also see p. 42.

[6] [Ferdinand] Tönnies, *Community & Society (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft)*, trans. and ed. C.P. Loomis (East Lansing, Michigan, 1957), p. 166.

[7] See, for example, Karl Gustav Specht, "Gemeinschaft," *Handwörterbuch der Sozialwissenschaften*, ed. E.V. Beckerath and others (Stuttgart, Tübingen, Göttingen, 1965), IV, 330.

[8] Late during the Weimar period of the Bauhaus, Gerhard Marcks found it necessary to state emphatically that, as an educational institution, the Bauhaus had to develop the abilities of its students in a practical way, but these abilities must "never" be allowed to become *"the goal"*: "An das Staatliche Bauhaus," January 2, 1924, 1 p. (typewritten), STAW St. B'haus temp. No. 47; compare this and the above with uncertain and contradictory statements in Hübner, *soziale Utopie des Bauhauses*, pp. 79, 84-88: for example, "The pathos of the founding period [of the Bauhaus] was superseded by technology and absorbed in the course of further development" (p. 87), and "In spite of rationalization, the utopian [element] in the Bauhaus idea endured, [and] precisely through technique and functionalism, synthesis and society gained new meaning" (p. 79); also see Robert K. Merton's consideration of ritualization in "Social Structure and Anomie," in Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York, 1957—2nd ed., revised), pp. 133-134, 149-153.

[9] See above, pp. 28-29.

[10] For some discussion of the millenarian tradition among intellectuals, see Edward A. Shils, "The Traditions of Intellectuals," in George B. Huszar, ed., *The Intellectuals: A Controversial Portrait* (Glencoe, Illinois, 1960), pp. 59-60; their millenarianism was secular, referring not to eternal salvation but to the realization of this-worldly goals: see Judith Shklar, "The Political Theory of Utopia: From Melancholy to Nostalgia," *Daedalus*, Vol. 94, No. 2 (Spring, 1965), 376; for further consideration of the problem of means in this context, see, for example: Adam Ulam, "Socialism and Utopia," *Daedalus*, Vol. 94, No. 2 (Spring 1965), 397; George Kateb, *Utopia and Its Enemies* (New York, 1963), p. 16; Thomas Molnar, *The Decline of the Intellectual* (Cleveland and New York, 1961), pp. 98-104.

[11] See above, pp. 24, 26-27; for a more general consideration of the intellectuals' judgment of others, see Robert Michels, "Historisch-kritische Untersuchungen zum politischen Verhalten der Intellektuellen," *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, Vol. 57, No. 2 [New Series] (1933), 56.

[12] With reference to the lack of a goal, see, for example, Schreiner, *Republik der vierzehn Jahre*, pp. 31-32; Friedrich Sell, *Die Tragödie des deutschen Liberalismus* (Stuttgart, 1953), p. 406; Hans Hildebrandt asserted that lack of a common transcendent belief had undermined the strength of Expressionism and the possibility for unity among Germans (*Expressionismus*, p. 7); Rudolf Manasse, "Bemerkungen über politische Kunst," *1918—Neue Blätter für Kunst und Dichtung*, I (July), pp. 62-63; Rudolf Kayser, "Die Kultur in dieser Zeit," *Die neue Rundschau*, XXXII, ii (February, 1921), 194; Hiller, *Aufbruch zum Paradies:* "Intellect without a goal is a game . . ." (p. 104).

[13] Karl Otten, "Vom lebenden Geist. (Von der Zensur im Kriege beschlagnahmt!) [Teil I]," *Der Gegner*, I, ii/iii (May, 1919), 30.

[14] For example, Hermann von Rosen, "Wilsonismus und Bolschewismus," *Deutsche Rundschau*, Vol. 179 (April-June, 1919), p. 249.

[15] For example, see Richard A. Comfort, *Revolutionary Hamburg: Labor Politics in the Early Weimar Republic* (Stanford, California, 1966), pp. 69-75.

[16] For example, Sell, *Tragödie*, p. 386; Erich Eyck, *Geschichte der Weimarer Republik, I: Von Zusammenbruch des Kaisertums bis zur Wahl Hindeburgs* (Erlenbach-Zurich and Stuttgart, 1962—4th ed.), p. 91.

[17] Walter Oehme, *Die Weimarer Nationalversammlung, 1919: Erinnerungen* (Berlin, 1962), p. 7.

[18] Raoul Hausmann, "Pamphlet gegen die Weimarische Lebens-auffassung" (1919), in Huelsenbeck, *Dada*, p. 34; Friedrich (Fritz) Ebert, a former saddle maker and a leader of the Majority Socialists, was the first President of the Weimar Republic—he succeeded Prince Max von Baden in 1918, the latter having been the last Imperial Chancellor, but Ebert still signed as such, indicating a quest for continuity with the preceding government, and his hopes for constitutionality, peace, and order; Philipp Scheidemann, another Majority Socialist leader, on November 9, 1918, unauthorized, proclaimed the formation of the German Republic, and was Chancellor from February to June, 1919—he had led Socialist opposition to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and their abstention in the vote, and, with Ebert, asserted the incompetency of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, which could not order things as they had to be ordered.

[19] Oehme, *Weimarer Nationalversammlung*, pp. 80-81, 348-349.

[20] Eyck, *Weimarer Republik*, pp. 107-108; Sell, *Tragödie*, p. 393.

[21] Döblin, "Neue Zeitschriften" (1919), p. 625.

[22] H[erbert] S[aekel], "Politische Umschau," *Das neue Rheinland*, I, v/vi ([January, 1920 (?)]), 175; Lothar Schreyer, a member of the Bauhaus from 1920 to 1923, similarly asserted that "humanity was the community of peoples" (*Verantwortlich* [Hamburg, 1922], p. 23); also see George D. Herron, *Der Pariser Frieden und die Jugend Europas: Eine Verteidigung und ein Aufruf, Umsturz und Aufbau*—Achte Flugschrift (Berlin, 1920): the key to the future is "the reawakened sense of social community" (p. 35, and passim).

[23] Paul Tillich, *Politische Bedeutung der Utopie im Leben der Völker: Vorträge* (Berlin, 1951), p. 61.

[24] See above, pp. 16 (n. 11), 30, 31; in a letter to Lyonel Feininger, written November 15, 1940, Gerhard Marcks recalled 1920 and "the cathedral, dreamt of by each of us in his

own way. . ." ([handwritten], FP, No. 1248); also see Taut, *Stadtkrone*, p. 58; Sachs, *Entwurf einer Kunst-Schule*, p. 13; Hans Hansen, *Das Erlebnis der Architektur* (Cologne, 1920), p. 93; Paul Fechter, *Die Tragödie der Architektur* (Jena, 1921), pp. 122-123.

25 See above, p. 80.

26 Christof Spengemann, *Die Wahrheit über Anna Blume: Kritik der Kunst, Kritik der Kritik, Kritik der Zeit* (Hannover, 1920), p. 6.

27 Wilhelm Worringer, "Kritische Gedanken zur neuen Kunst" [Lecture given to the Cologne Art Society, March, 1919], *Genius*, I, ii (1919), 234.

28 In October, 1922, Oskar Schlemmer noted that the idea of the cathedral had temporarily been relegated to the background where, given the circumstances, it should be, still serving as a long-range goal: "[Observations]," October 30, 1922, p. 1 (handwritten), STAW, St. B'haus, temp. Nos. 187-188, published in Wingler, *Bauhaus*, as Letter of November 22, 1922, to the Master's Council, "Zur Situation der Werkstätten für Holz- und Steinbildhauerei," p. 72.

29 See, for example, Bruno Adler, *Das Weimarer Bauhaus* (Darmstadt, [1965]), p. [14].

30 This was a special problem in Germany after World War I, with the number of academic positions and amount of institutional patronage for artists such that it made Germany a haven for the arts during the 'twenties, in contrast with France and the United States: see Bernard Myers, "The Modern Artist in Germany," *American-German Review*, XVI, iv (April, 1950), 16.

31 See the discussion in Bruce A. Watson, *Kunst, Künstler und soziale Kontrolle*, trans. H.G. Schutte (Cologne and Opladen, 1961), pp. 21-24.

32 For example, see L[ászló] Moholy-Nagy, "Theater, Circus, Variety," in Gropius, *Theatre of the Bauhaus*, p. 58: ". . . it is the task of the FUTURE ACTOR to discover and activate that which is COMMON to all men"; Karl Otten, "Vom lebenden Geiste . . .," *Der Gegner*, I, ii/iii (Mah, 1919), 30-31; Geiger, *Aufgaben und Stellung*, p. 167.

33 See, for example, Taut, *Stadtkrone*, p. 59: "Something must live in the breast of every human being that elevates him above the here-and-now, and that enables him to feel at one with his surrounding environment, his nation, all human beings, and the entire world"; also, Ernst Toller, *Look Through the Bars: Letters from Prison, Poems, and a New Version of "The Swallow Book,"* trans. R.E. Roberts (New York and Toronto, 1937), p. 245 (compare with the original: *Das Schwalbenbuch* [Potsdam, 1924], p. 31) and passim; two highly characteristic books appeared in 1919, both edited by the revolutionary poet-propagandist Ludwig Rubiner: *Kameraden der Menschheit: Dichtungen zur Weltrevolution. Eine Sammlung (Comrades of Mankind: Poems for World Revolution. A Collection)* included poems by several revolutionary poets (in the sociopolitical more than the artistic sense), among them Johannes R. Becher (for example, see above, p. 23), Walter Hasenclever (see above, p. 26), and Ernst Toller; *Die Gemeinschaft: Dokumente der geistigen Zeitwende (The Community: Documents of the Spiritual Revolution)*, which was a consideration of the basic significance of the October days of 1917 in Russia and the November days of 1918 in Germany (p. [6]), with relevant excerpts from the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Karl Marx, Peter Kropotkin, Victor Hugo, Leo Tolstoy, and Upton Sinclair, among others, and concluded with an essay by Anatole Lunacharski on "Proletarian Culture" and the Manifesto of the Communist International: Lenin and the New Russia were heralding the way for the spiritual change to become objective reality.

34 Walter Gropius to Adolf Behne, December 29, 1919, p. [2] (typewritten carbon copy), STAW, St. B'haus temp. No. 399.

35 For example, in a drawing of 1919, George Grosz depicted a war invalid, a beggar, a rich profiteer, a revolutionary, aristocrats, and members of the military, each very distinct and separated from the other: "Aren't we capable of unity?" ("sind wir nicht völkerbundfähig?"), reproduced in Akademie der Künste, Berlin, *George Grosz, 1893-1959,* Catalogue for an exhibit held from October 7 to December 30, 1962, No. 185, p. 59; for a further discussion of the question of the artist-intellectual and social justice, see below, pp. 157-158.

36 For a discussion of the Dadaists, anarchy, and nihilism, see below, pp. 115-117.

37 For a definition of "norms," see above, p. xi.

38 Kurt Schwitters, "Mordmaschine 43," *Der Sturm,* XI, ii (1920), 23.

39 See above, p. 78.

40 Hubner, *soziale Utopie des Bauhauses,* pp. 62 and 64.

41 Gerhard Marcks to Walter Gropius, December 3, 1921, p. 2 (handwritten), SG, BD.

42 Along with the Bauhaus programmatic change to "Art and Technology, a New Unity," Gropius asserted a quest for aesthetic unity in the work done in the Bauhaus, hoping thereby to ascertain that the intended idea would prevail: these ideas were developed and elaborated upon in a conversation between Marcel Franciscono, Instructor in Art History at the University of Illinois (Urbana) whose doctoral dissertation is on "The Inception and Immediate Background of the Bauhaus in Weimar," and the author, May 2 and May 3, 1967.

43 Lyonel Feininger to Julia Feininger, October, 1922, FP, No. 1445-II, Appendix, p. 42.

44 Walter Gropius to "Seiner Excellenz Bundesbevollmächtigten Paulsen," Weimar, March 3, 1919, p. [2] (typewritten carbon copy), SG, BD; also see above p. 31; and Hess, *Feininger,* p. 89.

45 See, for example, Pazitnov, *schöpferische Erbe des Bauhauses,* p. 18-19: the author proceeds to explain that such a goal could not have been achieved in a capitalist society unless preceded by a total social (and cultural) transformation, disastrous for the existing capitalist system; Pazitnov's arguments may be easily substantiated, but not in any conclusive sense so as to validate the use of the adjective "capitalist" for society, and the same argument would be relevant to any rigid social structure when the ideological bias is disregarded; also see [László] Moholy-Nagy, *Von Material zu Architektur* (Munich, 1929), p. 11.

46 See Charles P. Loomis's "Table of Concepts" in Tönnies, *Community and Society,* pp. 268-269, and Johnson, *Sociology,* pp. 136-141 ("Pattern Variables" of Talcott Parsons).

47 See Lyonel Feininger to Julia Feininger, May, 1919, FP, No. 1445-II, 1919/10; contrast with n. 42 above, and Hubner, *soziale Utopie des Bauhauses,* p. 81: this was the idea of Theo van Doesburg.

48 See, for example, Paul Klee, "Das Spiel der Kräfte am Bauhaus," in Wingler, *Bauhaus,* p. 60.

[49] Contrast with Ernst Kallái, "Zur Einführung," in Gewerbemuseum, Basel, *Das Bauhaus Dessau*, Catalogue of an exhibit held from April 21 to May 20, 1929, p. 4: he might better have raised the point of just how "practical" and of how much of a group nature the practical work of the Bauhaus during those years really was, such as the woven "paintings" of Klee, Kandinsky's murals, and the pottery of Marcks, all demanding meticulous, individual work, though intended for "the great work of art" *Gesamtkunstwerk).*

[50] See Selz, *German Expressionist Painting*, p. 273; see Schreyer's play, *Nacht* (Berlin, 1919), and photographs of his art works in Eberhard Roters, *Maler am Bauhaus, Die Kunst unserer Zeit*, Vol. 18 (Berlin, 1965), pp. 61-62.

[51] See above, p. 56.

[52] Protokoll der Meisterratsitzung, October 3, 1922, p. [3], SG, BD.

[53] Hübner, *soziale Utopie des Bauhauses*, pp. 136-137: but his strength was in avoiding the subordination of everything individual to the general.

[54] Oskar Schlemmer, "Warum triadisch?," in Kunstgewerbemuseum, Zurich, *Oskar Schlemmer und die abstrakte Bühne*, Catalogue of an exhibit held from June 18 to August 23, 1961, p. 16 (from an unpublished manuscript of 1926); also in the program: "Das Triadische Ballett: Zu seiner Aufführung auf dem Kammermusikfest in Donaueschingen," Program of the Third Concert, Sunday, July 25, [1926], p. [1], photocopy in BD.

[55] Georg Schmidt, "[Oskar Schlemmer]," in Akademie der Künste, Berlin, *Oskar Schlemmer, 1888-1943*, Catalogue for an exhibit held from September 22 to October 27, 1963, pp. 15-16, 19.

[56] Theo van Doesburg, Kurt Schwitters, Hans Arp, Tristan Tzara, Chr[istof] Spengemann, "Manifest Proletkunst" (March 6, 1923), *Merz*, No. 2 (April, 1923), 25.

[57] [Johannes] Baader, "Solus—Glindow in der Mark, 1. August 1918: Ein Brief an den Dichter Paul Ernst," July 19, 1918—private collection of Herr Gerhard Ströch, Altenburg, East Germany.

[58] [Raoul Hausmann(?)], "Dada Spiel," *Der Dada*, No. 1 [1919], p. [4].

[59] Protokoll der Versammlung der Meister und Lernenden des Staatlichen Bauhauses, October 13, 1920, pp. [3-4], STAW, St. B'haus temp. No. 184.

[60] Walter Gropius, "Vorschläge zur Gründung . . ." (1916), p. 8, SG, BD, and in Wingler, *Bauhaus*, pp. 29-30.

[61] This was related to Schlemmer's quest for types: see above, pp. 59-60, and illustrations, Appendix B, p. 207, and see Schlemmer, *Briefe*, p. 63, Letter to Fraulein Luz, June 9, 1918; with regard to Feininger, it was his concern with cathedrals: see above, p. 54 and illustrations, above, p. 55, and Appendix B, p. 208.

[62] See, for example, Paul Citroen, "Masdasnan am Bauhaus," in Göppinger Galerie, Frankfurt, *Bauhaus: Idee—Form—Zweck—Zeit, Dokumente und Äusserungen*, Catalogue for an exhibit held from February 1 to March 14, 1964, pp. 29-30; also see Hubner, *soziale Utopie des Bauhauses*, p. 68.

[63] Georg Muche, "Äusserung zur Meisterratsitzung vom 8. Dezember 1921," p. [1] (hand-

written), SG, BD.

64 Kallái, "Zur Einführung," in Gewerbemuseum, Basel, *Bauhaus Dessau*, p. [3].

65 Oskar Schlemmer, "Zu den Sätzungsänderungen," May 4, 1922, p. [2] (handwritten), STAW, St. B'haus temp. Nos. 187-188.

66 See, for example, Ludwig Hirschfeld [-Mack], student, "An alle Meister," February 1, 1923, 2 pp. (handwritten), SG, BD; Schlemmer, *Briefe*, p. 107, Letter to Unknown, March 2, 1921.

67 If T. Lux Feininger's assessment is correct in general terms (see above, pp. 18 n. 38, and p. 263 of the article cited), then the emotional letter of one young man seeking admission to the Bauhaus was not unique, but rather quite indicative of the level of enthusiasm, as he noted his attraction to "that great fire burning" in the school, to the "cry in unison for salvation in the action of men purifying themselves" (Herbert Günther to Walter Gropius [Spring, 1922 (May?)], pp. 1-2 (handwritten), STAW, St. B'haus temp. Nos. 130-133; for one theoretical view of the key group elements of activity and interaction, see George C. Homans, *The Human Group* (New York and Burlingame, 1950), for example, p. 43.

68 Lyonel Feininger to Julia Feininger, October, 1922, FP, No. 1445-II, Appendix, 1922/42.

69 For a theoretical discussion of the different roles an organization leader must play, see Joseph R. Gusfield, "Functional Areas of Leadership in Social Movements," *The Sociological Quarterly*, VII, ii (Spring, 1966), 137-138, 140-142, and Homans, *Human Group*, p. 141.

70 Marcel Breuer to [Walter Gropius and/or the Masters' Council], February 7, 1923, 1 p. (handwritten), STAW, St. B'haus temp. No. 305.

71 Oskar Schlemmer, "[Observations]," July 13, 1923, p. 2 (handwritten), SG, BD.

72 See, for example, Harry Scheibe, "Die Ziele des Staatlichen Bauhauses im Lichte der 'Bauhausidee,' " Weimarische *Zeitung*, July 23, 1924, clipping in STAW, St. B'haus temp. No. 417, facing (p. 22).

73 Lyonel Feininger to Walter Gropius, September 6, 1924, p. [2] (handwritten), SG, BD.

74 Walter Gropius to Lyonel Feininger, September 11, 1924, FP, No. 997; also see FP, No. 1445-II, p. 38.

75 Gerhard Marcks to Lyonel Feininger, July or August 22, 1925, p. 1 (photocopy of handwritten letter), FP, No. 1246.

76 Without here referring to the political and economic reasons that forced the Bauhaus to move from Weimar to Dessau (see above, pp. 62-64, and below, pp. 174-175), there was also an overt practical challenge that the Bauhaus was not achieving its stated ends, and therefore was not justifying its existence; responses ranged from the need for more time before there could be significant material results, to statements that results were, in fact, very much in evidence. For statements contending that there had been no results, see, for example, Arno Müller, "Die Bauhaus-Ausstellung und deren Erfolge," *Deutschland* (Weimar), November 30, 1923, SG, BASB No. 2, BD; [?] Meyer, "Schön, neu und zweckmässig. Zur Bauhausausstellung in Weimar im August 1923," *Fachblatt*

für Holzarbeiter (November/December, 1923), pp. 161-165, in SG, BASB No. 2, BD; K[arl?] N[onn?], "Staatliche Müllzufuhr. Das staatliche Bauhaus in Weimar," *Deutsche Zeitung*, No. 178, April 24, 1924 (Morning edition), SG, BASB No. 1, BD; X., "Sachliche Kritik gegen das Weimarer Staatliche Bauhaus," *Deutschland* (Weimar), No. 115, April 25, 1924, SG, SB No. 3, BD; "Das Ende des Weimarer Bauhauses," Frankfurter *Zeitung*, January 13, 1925, SG, SB No. 5, BD. Regarding the need for time for the art educational and constructive effort, see, for example, Walter Curt Behrendt, "Form und Norm. Weimarer 'Konstruktionismus,' " *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (Berlin), October 2, 1923, SG, BASB No. 2, BD; P. (?), "Auflösung des Weimarer Bauhauses?," *Bauwelt*, No. 10 (March 6, 1924), SG, SB No. 3, BD. And that there had been results, see for example, Fritz Stahl, "Das Bauhaus," Berliner *Tageblatt*, August 18, 1923, SG, BASB No. 1, BD; Hans Nachod, "Um das Schicksal eines Kunstinstitutes—Was soll mit dem Weimarer Bauhaus geschehen?," Leipziger *Tageblatt*, September 27, 1924, SG, SB No. 4, BD; Dr. St., "Noch einmal das Weimarer Bauhaus," Breslau *Neueste Nachrichten*, December 19, 1924, SG, SB No. 5, BD. In general, the battle was between Weimar opposition to the Bauhaus and outside support for it.

77 For example, Johannes Itten to Walter Gropius [ca. December, 1921/January, 1922], 1p. (handwritten), SG, BD.

78 See above, pp. 88-89.

79 Raoul Hausmann, "Menschen-Leben-Erleben" (written in 1917), *Menschen*, I, x (December 15, 1918), 2.

80 Schreyer, *Verantwortlich*, p. 4.

81 Raoul Hausmann, "Schnitt durch die Zeit," *Die Erde*, I, xviii/xix (October 1, 1919), 540.

82 See above, pp. 58-59.

83 Hausmann, "Schnitt durch die Zeit," *Die Erde*, I, xviii/xix (October 1, 1919), 543.

84 George Grosz and Wieland Herzfelde, *Die Kunst ist in Gefahr: Drei Aufsätze* (Berlin, 1925), p. 44; Wieland Herzfelde, *Gesellschaft, Künstler und Kommunismus* (Berlin-Halensee, 1921), pp. 10, 12, 15-16, 21; George Grosz, "Zu meinen neuen Bildern" ([1920], 1921), p. 14: although Grosz speaks of the artists' aid being rendered the *proletariat* in seeking to create a "new" world in which the artist would play a significant role, his proletariat is not the same as that of the strictly, and theoretically, delineated Communist proletariat.

85 Franz Jung, *Die rote Woche: Roman* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 49-50.

86 Franz Jung, *Die Eroberung der Maschinen: Roman* (Berlin, 1923), pp. 175-176.

87 Franz Jung, *Proletarier: Erzählung* (Berlin, 1921), p. 6.

88 Franz Jung, *Arbeitsfriede: Roman* (Berlin, 1922), "Schlusswort."

89 In addition to the books cited above, see Franz Jung's play *Annemarie: Ein Schauspiel in vier Akten mit Vorspiel und Nachspiel* (Berlin-Halensee, 1922), p. 64 and passim; also see Jung, *Weg nach unten*, pp. 303-304, 309-312; and Erwin Piscator, *Das politische Theater* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1963), pp. 50-51, 54, and Ludwig Hoffmann and Daniel Hoffmann-Ostwald, *Deutsches Arbeitertheater, 1918-1933: Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin, 1961), pp. 64-65.

[90] See below, pp. 142-143.

[91] See, for example, Sontheimer, *Antidemokratisches Denken*, pp. 308-317.

[92] For further discussion of attitudes towards the peace, see above, p. 82, and below pp. 126-127.

[93] Sontheimer, *Antidemokratisches Denken*, p. 315; for pertinent references to "Volksgemeinschaft," see Werner Siebarth, [ed.], *Hitlers Wollen: Nach Kernsätzen aus seinen Schriften und Reden* (Munich, 1941), for example, pp. 18, 85, 95, 182, and out of *Mein Kampf*, pp. 130, 136; also see Hermann Rauschning, *Gespräche mit Hitler* (Zurich, New York, 1940), pp. 178-181.

[94] For present purposes, the definitions of "mass society" and "pluralist society," as presented by William Kornhauser, *The Politics of Mass Society* (Glencoe, Illinois, 1959), are sufficient: "Mass society is a social system in which elites are readily accessible to influence by non-elites and non-elites are readily available for mobilization by elites" (p. 39, emphasis removed)—"there is a paucity of independent groups between the state and the family to protect either elites or non-elites from manipulation and mobilization by the other" (p. 41)—there is an absence of autonomy and freedom is precarious; "*Pluralist society* requires accessible elites and unavailable non-elites if it is to sustain its freedom and diversity—as in certain liberal democracies. Elites are accessible in that competition among independent groups opens many channels of communication and power. The population is unavailable in that people possess multiple commitments to diverse and autonomous groups" (pp. 40-41). A case might be made for a contention that the pre-war direction in Germany was towards pluralist society, while the post-war direction was towards mass society; both directions were "bad" in National Socialist terms.

[95] See above, pp. 57-58, 87.

[96] Schlemmer, *Briefe*, p. 62, Letter to Fräulein Lez, June 9, 1918.

[97] "*The human being is not the object, but the goal*": Moholy-Nagy, *Material zu Architektur*, p. 14; this was the contrary of Hitler's intention to manipulate the human being, to "socialize the people": Rauschning, *Gespräche*, p. 181.

[98] Paul Klee, *On Modern Art* (from a lecture given in 1924), trans. P. Findlay (London, 1949), p. 55; also see Ludwig Hirschfeld-Mack, "Die reflektorischen Farbenspiele," *Die Baulaterne*, I, v (May, 1925), 41: the ". . . artist of today . . . seeks a people!"

CHAPTER V

TRANSCENDING THE PAST: SOCIETY AND TRADITION

Society and state, adjudged the breeding grounds of World War I, were condemned in their totality by the artist-intellectuals with both direct and indirect criticisms. A longing for humanity and for community, or the spirit of community rooted in humanity, in itself implied a criticism of the situation preceding 1918 as the embodiment of those elements contrary to the "new" ideals. Well-considered criticism, naive criticism, superficial criticism, all more often than not expressed in very general and vague terms, punctuated the polemical tracts of the artist-intellectuals and were interspersed throughout their creations. Criticisms became ever more vague as specifics were brought under consideration, yet intended to refer to the general socio-political situation.[1] Given the asserted need to destroy the entire structure of society, the Dadaists aspired to be among the pace-setters; in this, they were very much at odds with the members of the Bauhaus, who felt that criticism after war and revolution should be of a constructive nature.

Their generally negative attitude was not merely a result of the Dadaists' refusal to support the post-revolutionary political situation, but also of a very positive belief that this situation was only a momentarily interrupted continuation of the old: the necessity of a revolution confronting and overthrowing the underlying values[2] still held by the German people was obvious. Dadaist opposition was enhanced and justified by an apparent awareness on the part of many artist-intellectuals that there had lacked any general intellectual preparation for revolution in Germany,[3] preparation that had been essential to the French and Russian Revolutions, and even to the revolutionary activities of 1848 that were frustrated throughout Europe. A partial result of the sensed lack of preparation was a quest to compensate for it during and after the revolutionary period, a quest that put the Dadaists, among other groups of artist-intellectuals, out of phase with reality, a necessary and unfortunate consequence of their beliefs. During this time, Spartacists and Communists continued their efforts to bring about revolution, and not merely its theoretical preparation,[4] which was and had been hardly a concern for them, their revolutionary hopes being based almost entirely upon the growing number of disaffected workers. Disorder and uncertainty in political and economic affairs made the period after the war little conducive to the debate, deliberation, and compromise necessary to the development of new, democratic socio-political structures and values. Moreover, even had the values been already formulated within the German context, intense education in those values would have been

necessary, the time and freedom for which the stress of circumstances prohibited. Thus, recourse to traditional and generally accepted values, even when cloaked in a new rhetoric, was virtually guaranteed of success so long as there was no basic psychological and intellectual transformation of the German people. The continuous fire of criticism on all fronts actually helped to prevent the development of a new value base, and what still existed was a concatenation of the old ideals of authoritarian monarchy and society with a redecorated constitutional facade. Rigid opposing ideologies were established, whether intended as such or not, and the possibility for compromise was no longer even a hope. It was as if:

Two traditions met.
But our padlocked thoughts
Lacked the necessary space.
An experiment to be rebegun.[5]

Considerations of specifics criticized by the Dadaists, most of which were validated by both police and military reaction to them[6] and in some of the problems that confronted the Bauhaus,[7] would require listing virtually every element of German society. Monarchy, the church, the military, industrial magnates, politicians, and passive pseudo-citizens, a posture based upon ideals and ethics not understood and kept pure from contamination with reality: all these were criticized vehemently. But Dada was a cultural movement concerned with the general situation and advocating revolution, which in contrast with reform is not initiated by attacks upon specifics, unless those specifics lead to or are understood as representative of the whole. A coalescing of interests necessarily occurs when specifics are, or are considered to be, unchangeable without a complete transformation of values as the component elements in the foundation of the socio-cultural structure.[8] Although the revolutionary stance of the Dadaists was strongly in evidence, there was a definite undercurrent of ambivalence as to the possible effectiveness of reform. Once past the period of revolutionary flux, reform became an obvious although not immediately overt concern, and did influence the social and political attitudes of the Dadaists after the "formal" movement had come to an end.

Among the works by Dadaists that indicate their quest for a total transformation of Germany is George Grosz's painting "Foundations of Society."[9] Done by Grosz in 1926, it is closely related in content to his painting of 1917 entitled "Germany, a Winter Fairy Tale," and entails most of the elements that the artist considered individually in smaller drawings. The painting presents a rogues' gallery of the representative individuals responsible for Germany as it was both before and after the war. At the foot of the composition is a student, with mug of beer, monocle, sabre, and cheek scar; from his head rides forth a masked man on a black horse, symbolizing the secret military organizations of the Weimar Republic:[10] the student is the one who will carry on

Illustration 5

George Grosz, "Foundations of Society," 1926



the traditions of the Fatherland. Next is the politician, with a chamber pot on his head and an olive branch in his hand: his intention is to be obedient, and to remain calm by not thinking. Then appears the academician, in whose head one sees burning garbage, rather than a brain: he carries a republican flag and wears a placard with the words "Socialism is Work," and such is his bane. The last prominent figure is that of a priest, with red nose and red ears, conceivable as a type-descendant of Dostoevsky's Grand Inquisitor: the people must be told with honeyed words what to do, what to believe, and of the virtues of suffering in obedience to the state. At the top, and in the background, but nevertheless pervading the representation of the foundations of German society, are the vicious military men of the Free Corps.[11] Expressing verbally what Grosz did with pen and brush, Raoul Hausmann noted that "truth, honor, love of order, and respect before authority live in a German soul," but with the last element first, as a source of the others. So easy to please, the German "wants [only] his order, his king, his Sunday sermon, and his easy chair."[12] The individuals who formed and supported the "Foundations of Society" would recreate the German reality, and would make certain that anyone challenging their reality would go down in defeat. Thus the heretic, the "Black One," in Walter Mehring's "The Black Mass," is ultimately offered to and accepted by the people as fodder. In a strident and challenging tone, the Black One demands that Satan, representing the old order, "give to the human beings what belongs to the human beings!," and implores the people: "Take from the rulers that which is yours! / Humiliate them, so that you will not be humiliated!" Satan cries in distress: "He wants to take your beliefs from you! / He wants to take your crutches away! . . . . In the name of order! of the laws! of the fatherly tradition!" The Black One releases the people from their cage, and they menace Satan, until he shouts "eat him, the Black One—a gift." The chorus "Te Satanam laudamus!," to the accompaniment of breaking bones, concludes the Black Mass.[13] The people who had brought the Old Germany to ruin now wanted to rebuild it, rather than construct a new one. For the Dadaists, along with many other artist-intellectuals, there was more than sufficient justification for the question of where the revolution had disappeared to.

Revolution among a people basically opposed to revolution had resulted in the immediate acceptance of overt acts. Those initially unaware of any changes were advised that such had been introduced. Accordingly, they accepted the "fact" of revolution just as they had previously accepted political and social changes, on the basis of authority, as subjects rather than as responsible citizens.[14] Among the different responses to this event were, from one corner, efforts to develop the value foundation essential to meaningful and viable political changes, and from another, a rejection of what was passing for revolution. The Dadaists were among the latter, not opposed to but convinced of a continuing need for revolution. Desirous of transforming or helping to

transform into a truth "the greatest lie in the world," that there had been a revolution in Germany,[15] they devoted themselves to its preparation and realization. The continued quest for revolution by Dadaists and by the political left, and ultimately also by the political right, was kept alive by a broad-based ambivalence towards the new authority. With the election of the National Assembly in January, 1919, the selection of the Majority Socialist Friedrich Ebert as president in February, and the adoption of a constitution in July, the government of the Weimar Republic was established in a formal, legal sense, but had not yet been legitimized through popular acceptance and support.[16] The Germans were still confronted with the problem of accepting (or selecting) some authority to denote an orientation point for the establishment of a new socio-political system, or for the reestablishment of the old system. It seems that there was little capacity and virtually no desire for making the legal transition a total one.[17] Claims of adherence to new values, or of the need to adhere to new values, hardly make a fact of adherence. It can and did lead to a conflict of values. In such a situation, wherein new values, democratic and republican in nature, were hardly acknowledged, and then little understood or accepted, the only apparent recourse left the individual, if indeterminacy and directionlessness were to be overcome, was to reassert his support for the old values of authority under the law, inherited legitimacy, and order.[18] Most people rendered support to a relatively well-defined system, and so were in basic opposition to the ambiguity—and freedom—oriented artist-intellectuals.

Conditions of freedom and openness are central to the hopes and ideals of many individuals who find unnecessary the security and certainty afforded by prescriptive and proscriptive rules and guidelines. It was freedom and openness that many of the artist-intellectuals of post-war Germany sought, as we have seen in their problematical relations to the development of directive goals. Their quest was rooted in an attitude of individualism and independence, an attitude reinforced and supported by the other members of their own communities, such as the Work-Council for Art, the November Group, the Dadaists, and the Bauhaus. For the real artists among them, there was the further consideration that artistic creativity and expression could in no way be restricted by others without being compromised or destroyed. Freedom was the value given ultimate priority, being basic to a course of action for which no specific goals were necessary or desirable, other than those of self-realization and self-expression. By transferring his values of individuality and freedom from the sphere of artistic creativity to the total socio-political structure, the artist-intellectual placed himself in a position essentially opposed to that of the people who are within and accept the structure (or, for that matter, any structure). Thus, Dadaist criticisms and aims were in opposition to the institution or reinstitution of political and social forms which would limit change or the possibilities for change. However unattractive Trotsky's call for "permanent revolution,"

which, regardless of meaning, was paid lip service by many of the left-oriented artist-intellectuals,[19] realization of the values of freedom and openness sought by the Dadaists would obviate the need for revolution by superseding any possibility of structural petrification.

This quest for a value revolution and, even more, for a situation sufficiently open that constant changes or the process of becoming would be at least possible, led the Dadaists and other artist-intellectuals to condemn the German philistine. The philistine, with the aid of the military, business, and the academicians, had once again undermined an idea dangerous to his well-being: all too soon "the idea of revolution [was] brought to order, regimented, and rationed."[20] Not only had the German version of revolution been "a weak imitation of the Russian,"[21] but it had been a weak imitation of revolution in any sense. It was revealed as having been something very artificial indeed, in keeping with German life as viewed by the Dadaists and by many members of the Bauhaus. Among a population for whom order was a major concern, revolution had hardly become a very general positive interest, and the German Revolution had been enveloped in an "atmosphere of wirepulling,"[22] an atmosphere exaggerated by persistent overt efforts of Spartacists and Communists to create a revolution.[23]

Denying the acceptability of a rigidified system, the Dadaists advocated activity, and in activity life. In their scorn for what had occurred in Germany, and what was said to have introduced the situation in which a new Germany could be formed, the Dadaists tried to achieve effectiveness through polemics. The revolutionary displacement of monarchs was of little worth, for it had not displaced the attitude towards monarchs, at least not from among the bourgeoisie nor from among their political parties.[24] In this light, "Willy" (former Kaiser William II) was reported as having sent a telegram to the Dadaists announcing his new contract to direct the world revolution,[25] of course to be done in an orderly way. The eight days following the outbreak of the revolution had been no more than a "happy dream,"[26] during which optimism was at a peak. But, in lieu of realizing the dream of what might have been, the faithful cried out for authority and order: "God in heaven, save the king."[27] The phantom revolution had disturbed little of basic significance, and the Dadaists were obsessed with this view of reality.

There was a revolution.
(It was a dream!)
And four-and-twenty were upset from their thrones.
(One can hardly believe it!)
....
Now he who is hungry once again strikes,
And cries enthusiastically: Hurrah!
The militarist, the anarchist
Are both here again![28]

The effort to establish a truly new middle course had failed as the open situation conducive to significant positive change disappeared. Disappointment increased cynicism among the Dadaists. Their cynicism was rooted in the challenge raised to their beliefs concerning human potentialities when the opportunity for change after November 9, 1918, was not grasped. Perhaps it *was* only force and violence that could be effective in dealing with a people who followed the lead of self-interested hypocrites. A German revolution in which the majority of Germans emotionally acquiesced and willingly participated would apparently have to remain a dream. Only in the world of dreams could problems be solved without disturbing the order created by tradition or, more importantly, without interrupting the Sunday dinner.

An aura of ambivalence surrounded and confused efforts to deal with problems that had developed in the preceding half-century and with the desire for order. This objective reality was exaggerated by and gave significant support to the views held by the left artist-intellectuals, influenced as they were by emotional appeals. The gray area of possible reform was exchanged, eventually, for the black and white contrast of revolution and reaction. Among the bourgeoisie who were at all amenable to revolution and among many members of the proletariat there probably also existed this feeling of ambivalence. One might imagine them reciting the last lines of a poem by Kurt Schwitters: "Long live the revolution!/ Long live the Kaiser! (nights descend)."[29] Hesitant to select one or the other, neither bourgeoisie nor workers responded in the moment of decision, and instead hovered for as long as was possible in a zone that might have been either dawn or twilight. In 1925, following the death of Friedrich Ebert, they elected Paul von Hindenburg president of the Republic. Regardless of the new president's sworn allegiance to the constitution, votes for him were votes for the old Field Marshall, for the known, for the still cherished and only understood values of German society. The situation as it developed enhanced the disappointments to which the Dadaists had necessarily made themselves vulnerable: their cherished concepts of freedom and revolution could in Germany exist only in the imagination. Wieland Herzfelde stated in an autobiographical sketch that at the time of the Russian Revolution he became entranced by the idea of a total transformation, but had no idea that it required planning and preparation; the youth was greatly dismayed when revolution did not break out in Germany in 1917.[30] One might add to this a sequel for the Dadaists: when revolution as they conceived it did not occur, they were greatly dismayed, and found the reason for their dismay in the irresponsibility and shortsightedness of the bourgeois philistines, although the Dadaists too suffered to some extent from these same shortcomings.

Essential to a critical consideration of artist-intellectuals in society is the degree of realism in their general attitudes.[31] The relationship between reality and the image of reality, involving both objective or external reality and

subjective or internal (psychological) reality, exerts a crucial influence upon those attitudes. Ideals and possibilities contributed to and helped maintain a gap between the artist-intellectual's view of reality and reality itself, at least in so far as we are able to judge from the available materials. The question of possibilities, of what could be, was of far greater importance for many of the artist-intellectuals than a more limited and more realistic consideration of the actual situation. A more realistic attitude might have been expected of individuals filling, in part, roles as critics of society and carriers of aims conceivable for the society, unless they were willing to relinquish responsibility for the communication of their ideas to mediating agents.

Consideration of society by the artist-intellectuals has been taken as more basic than their approach to politics in assessing their own participation in the Weimar Republic. Society is based upon socio-cultural values, and both society and values are considered herein to precede politics. Moreover, there is some type of contact between every individual and society, whereas there need not be any contact between the individual and politics. One may remain basically aloof from or opposed to political concerns, with the result that any occasional political involvement is accompanied by some degree of unreality, but also by some degree of certainty that an a- or anti-political attitude will have little or no effect upon one's life. In contrast, even if the individual isolates himself entirely from society and its values, he is going to be directly or indirectly affected by society and will respond in some way to it and its values. His response may be considerably intensified when there seems to be a chance for significant changes to occur, and there may be a concomitant increase in the gap between generally accepted reality and his image of reality, between the real and his ideal. Such seems to have been the case for the Dadaists and the Bauhaus Form Masters. In such a situation, the social significance of the sensibility, perception, and expressive abilities of the artist-intellectuals may be minimized by the gap between the real and their ideals, and the gap between them and the public.

As we have tried to make clear, revolutionary concerns of the artist-intellectuals were based upon ideal conceptions of what might be the outcome of revolution, conceptions that were prerequisites for involvement. Once the ideals are achieved, the revolution or revolutionary situation should be brought to an end or, if the ideal be the open situation as envisioned by the Dadaists, stabilized. For most Germans who were at all prepared to acquiesce in revolutionary efforts, the aims that they conceived of—peace and the accompanying possibility for a restoration of prewar prosperity, coupled with the abdication of William II and the other royal rulers in Germany—were quickly achieved, and the time had come for order.[32] The change in overt governmental forms, including the earlier electoral reform in Prussia, suggested to most Germans that the revolution had been completed, and only in a situation of order could

revolutionary accomplishments be assured an existence. The idea of revolution's involving basic values seemed foreign to most Germans, as might be expected when general blame for the war was being attributed to William II and defeat to a "stab in the back." Reasoning of this nature invalidated criticisms of values. Such superficial blame was at considerable variance with that rendered by artist-intellectuals, among others, against the system and the kind of values that might elevate one individual to a position of such importance that all responsibility was seen as resting upon his shoulders.[33] This state of affairs was greatly responsible for the republic's lack of ideals or aims, and for popular concern being with leadership more than with citizenship. In this light, the actions of the Dadaists do not appear to have been too extreme, and the necessity for a transformation of values becomes evident. The Bauhaus as an educational institution accepted the new political structure and was concerned with legitimate means by which to realize and perhaps transform ideals—within the structure; dedication was to reform and evolution, which might in the long run amount to revolution. Bauhaus concern was with the "how" of construction, and its solutions to this problem were in fact realistic only for its isolated community. Importance was given by the Dadaists to the "how" of destruction and to making possible real construction through the efforts of individuals willing and able to participate responsibly in establishing a new society.

It is pertinent within the context of a discussion of revolution and society to consider the terms "nihilism" and "anarchism," which often appear in discussions of the Dadaists. Although this discussion is limited to the Dadaists in terms of a group (Bauhaus intentions were overtly constructive and may be accepted as such), some of the individuals from the Bauhaus ranks might also have been considered, such as Paul Klee and Wassily Kandinsky. Both "nihilism" and "anarchism" are terms generally used with regard to revolutionary types, individuals or groups, and are meaningful only in relation to a relatively stable system, be it economic, political, social, or cultural, as a reference point. Upon the basis of the general picture of the Dadaists, there is justification for denying validity to efforts made at classifying them as nihilists. The Dadaists did not deny reality, but affirmed both it, as they interpreted it, with its crassest features, and the elements by means of which one might transcend reality. In the very limited sense of denying previous systems and values they might be considered nihilists, but even here there was no explicit (or implicit) denial of *all* preceding systems and values: freedom and individualism were not Dadaist inventions. And they did not deny art, but only art as then practiced.[34] That the Dadaists' implied goal of freedom was not clarified in specific terms, and by tradition-oriented individuals would probably have been judged a non-goal, is an insufficient criterion for asserting that they were nihilists. If, on the other hand, efforts to destroy, regardless of ultimate intention, are nihilist by definition, then and only then may the Dadaists justly be so considered, as might

also be the introductory course of the Bauhaus, intended as it was to rid students of old suppositions and traditional methods. In these cases, the word loses its specificity and effective meaning as a term of analysis or characterization.

More plausible is the depiction of the Dadaists as anarchists. They sought to question socio-cultural values which had gone too long unquestioned, and hoped to destroy a system that in war and revolution had revealed its flaws as an agent of artificial restriction and direction imposed upon life. The ultimate positive aim of the Dadaists was individual freedom.[35] Although the Dadaists were certainly not anarchists in any comprehensive or systematic sense, somewhat pertinent to them is the definition of anarchism "as a system of social thought, aiming at fundamental changes in the structure of society [thus probably including, as has been suggested, cultural values] and particularly . . . at the replacement of the authoritarian state by some form of non-governmental cooperation between free individuals," and involving basic elements of freedom and spontaneity.[36] Two major qualifications to be placed upon this definition in relating it to the Dadaists are that their thought was neither systematic nor limited to society (as opposed to man). With these qualifications in mind, and were they certain that such classification would not have limited their activities as artists, the Dadaists would very possibly have agreed to such a definition as applicable to themselves. Yet even here, the point is being stretched: categorization of any sort would have been anathema for the Dadaists. Furthermore, there is no definite Dadaist statement, besides a personal consideration of anarcho-communism by Raoul Hausmann,[37] that advocates any "form of non-governmental cooperation." As acceptable as any non-governmental form, it seems, would have been a responsible and responsive government, fully answerable to free and, in their turn, responsible individuals: any government, that is, amenable to Dadaist interests. Neither nihilists nor anarchists, the Dadaists were socio-cultural revolutionaries.

Underlying the efforts of the Berlin Dadaists was a concern with *destroying the old* and *burying the dead,* not merely with destroying nor with burying.[38] The Dadaists treated traditional cultural values and socio-political structures as antiquated shells. Before these dead relics of the past could be buried, they had to be proven dead in order that the mental constructs based upon them would follow into the grave. The major goal in publishing the magazine *Everyone His Own Football* was noted by Wieland Herzfelde as the intention to " 'tread into the mud everything that the German formerly [and, for most, still] held dear to him, that is, all worn-out 'ideals,' in order to create a free path and fresh air."[39] There were reason and purpose in the destructiveness of the Dadaists. At the base of their actions was a very strong belief in human values and the means by which those values might be realized: in this sense they were neither anarchistic nor nihilistic.[40] Foremost for the Dadaists was their quest for freedom, the means to which was a stance that involved questioning

and destroying. The hoped-for result would be a void only in relation to traditional terms, values, and structures. With the disappearance of the old framework, the concept anarchy would lose its accepted meaning. At the same time, as has been suggested, had a structure been devised that did allow for the greatest conceivable amount of human freedom, there is no basis for asserting that it too would have been rejected by the Dadaists. Their opposition was to the German system as it existed before and during the war, and as it appeared to be continuing after the war. Only in the light of their negative orientation and unabating opposition to the system were the Berlin Dadaists anarchistic. Uncertainty about what, in a positive sense, might have been done to correct the existing situation, in addition to the discarding of everything old or tainted with the old, made it necessary for the Dadaists to maintain a position oriented to destruction.[41] They were "neo-anarchists" to the extent that unstructured cooperation between individuals, based upon the unity of humanity become reality, might have been an outcome of their efforts.

Basic agreement that the old had been at most superficially discarded and that this process had to be completed before any positive measures might be meaningful had led to the union of individuals that was the Dadaist opposition movement. They continued on a micro-scale the German political tradition of unity in opposition. Lack of recognition of and/or lack of participation in what had to be done to build a new Germany was a major defect of most political parties in the Republic,[42] and enhanced the gap between those who knew and those who could do, between men of knowledge and men of action, and between intellectuals and masses.[43] The Dadaists, committed to action as critics and not as builders, convinced as they were that the time for building had not arrived, are not to be condemned for the same defect. A perceptive knowledge that nothing of lasting significance could be done without first destroying the old foundation was a positive attribute of the group. A defect, in socio-political terms, was the extremism of their single-minded devotion to the goal of destruction, whereby they threatened not only what continued of the old but also what was being newly introduced. On their own terms, the Dadaist challenge to values was initially undertaken in the sense of extreme relativism, establishing the general meaninglessness of values and certainly indicating support for anarchism in the sense of extreme individualism. With all values being accorded equal validity, there existed no standard by which to order them. Only with values rooted in an ultimately common base for all individuals, alleviating conflict between them based upon self-interest, would it be possible to transcend a situation in which chaos could easily prevail. But while extreme relativism might lead to chaos, only such values as were in fact absolute, or accepted as such by a society and a culture grouping of many societies, could avoid the recurrence of chaotic or conflict situations. When the nation and national interests were considered the highest values—selfish interests

on a macro-scale—not only the basis for conflict existed but conflict itself, between nations, would be virtually inevitable. Thus did many artist-intellectuals view the origins of World War I: it was the result of socio-cultural values considered to be absolute, while being in fact relative, and thus inherent sources of conflict. Accordingly relativism, unless carried to its logical extreme of complete individual freedom, was unacceptable; absolute values, unless fully recognized and accepted as such, would also be unacceptable: their stance of ambiguity enabled the Dadaists to negate the meaning of this problem. In the situation of ambiguity, a reasoned ambiguity, with humanity and life as the values, all acts and statements would come to be valued in and of themselves, as the substance of life. In the case of the Dadaists, accordingly, there would be no set criteria for judging creations and activities that, on their own terms and also in terms of society—regardless of the opinions of the Dadaists themselves—were meaningful, meaningful in relation to life.

Both the Dadaists and the members of the Bauhaus were concerned with the problems of individual awareness and involvement. Awareness entailed the self, the surrounding world, and the elements composing that world; involvement had to do with criticism, transformation, and construction in and of the world and its component elements. A major aspect of this general concern was the consideration of the basis upon which values were accepted. Because values had been accepted in the past did not make them relevant to the present—when they were less than the broadest values of humanity and life—though they might be meaningful in stimulating opposition, or might prove to be still relevant following critical appraisal. Acceptance of values on the basis of tradition and authority, an uncritical acceptance of values which representatives of the society, including parents and family members, teachers and other representatives of church and state seek to pass on, is an abdication of responsibility on the part of the individual, especially for society's adaptability and future growth. The habit of acceptance is of especially vital concern when the socio-political structure is, or is supposed to be, in the process of formation or transformation, as was the case in Germany after World War I. Passive participation may be indicative of several possibilities: an acceptance of old or existing values and structures; an inability to make a choice between extant possibilities; or, a problem as to whether there is in fact a choice to be made between various possibilities or merely between the old and nothing. In the Bauhaus, a choice was made for new possibilities; the Dadaists as Dadaists made a *temporary and temporizing* choice for the nothing, in the light of an apparent lack of truly new possibilities, although the Western, democratic, and individualistic concept of freedom was certainly one possibility for Germany. Both groups were actively, though indirectly, participating in socio-political developments. For the general public, the inclina-

tion was to be passive, as in the past, and to go along with authority. The question for them was primarily whom to recognize as authority; in this case, which political party or political leaders they should follow, the decision apparently to be based less upon the values and norms the parties and leaders advocated than upon the degree of certainty and authority which they evidenced. The importance of selection of authority, by no means peculiar to Germans, indicates a willingness to accept and support the decisions made by authority; such importance may further indicate, according to the degree of acceptance of authority, a gratefulness that the responsibility for decisions has been accepted by others. The "indirect citizen," a euphemism for subject, seeks on "every side *guaranties through authority . . . . since it is unbearable for him to live from himself out . . . . Duty [and obedience] means unanswerability.*"[44] Concerning values, the "indirect citizen" would make his "choices" on the basis of secondhand assertions and experiences, rather than, with perhaps some uncertainty, advocate beliefs and decisions stemming from his own experiences. With this in mind, the Dadaists asserted that the bourgeoisie declined to come to grips with life,[45] and Gropius and his predecessors who propounded the theory of combined arts education expressed concern that the artist and architect develop a knowledge of materials and the potentialities of materials through experience.[46]

Unawareness of the potentialities of man is perpetuated by the acceptance of the means to realize values and the values themselves on the basis of authority and tradition, a vital hindrance to construction, as opposed to reconstruction. The Bauhaus turned away from the academy and academic procedures because the old and accepted course of education involved the passing on of developed techniques and other individuals' interpretations of experiences. In their challenge to Expressionism and to tradition in general, the Dadaists similarly opposed the passing along of formulas that explained how to look at and how to react to the world. But neither group came to grips with the problems of people for whom formulas had always existed, and who had not been and were not being educated to do without such formulas. For this same deficiency, the Dadaists somewhat self-righteously attacked the Expressionists. They went further in their intellectual clash with the Expressionists,[47] claiming that the most recent Ism was in fact not at all concerned with the real, external world. Through a total concern with the subjective, though equally real, inner world, the Expressionists became involved in considerations of individual differences that might be incomparable. They thus cut themselves off from a concern with socio-cultural transformation and individual adjustment in a changing world, and from relating to individuals in that world, which the Dadaists also did, but in their own, more relevant way.

> The first Expressionist, a man who discovered "inner freedom," was a greedy and drunken Saxon, Martin Luther. He directed the protest

> crisis of the Germans to an inexplicable "Inwardness" equivalent to untruthfulness, a juggling with imagined suffering, to an abyss of the "Soul" and its power next to a servile submission in relation to the authoritative power, he is the father of Kant, Schopenhauer, and *to-day's art nonsense, which stares past the world and thereby intends to overcome it.*[48]

Internalization of ideals and the establishment of an almost absolute duality between them and reality had been Christianity's blessing for Germany, as mediated by Luther: a duality of other-worldly ethics and this-worldly practice.[49] This may have been the reality of the world, but by totally accepting the world as it was, or avoiding it, one did not come to grips with the problem, nor did one develop the possibility for changing reality. Contemptuous criticism of reality as envisioned by Hausmann meant including in that criticism the Expressionists, who seemed to be doing little to bridge the gap between the ideal and the real or to force a selection of honesty over hypocrisy, a task that Hausmann and the other Dadaists felt it their responsibility to aid in accomplishing, as best they could. Whether the apparent stance of the Expressionists stemmed from unawareness of the gap between the ideal and the real or an inability to bridge the gap between what they considered to be incompatible poles, Dadaist reaction against an incondonable reality also meant reaction against all who condoned that reality. There was a turning away from traditional art, however unique might be the method, to express in creative terms pictorially, plastically, and verbally the need for a break with tradition in the arts. In so doing, the Dadaists had to contend with criticism of their approach also as being destructive of art *qua* art. Here the Dadaists went to extremes, but in a convinced quest for meaningful expression and life, rather than to destroy art. Their opposition was to an art reduced to mechanics and cut off from the vital world, in contrast to an art involving man, life, and the world.[50] This suggests one explanation for the significance of collages and compositions of objects collected in the streets ("found objects"), including Schwitters' intriguing Merz construction.[51] Similar to the quest of the Dadaists was that of the Bauhaus for a reunification of art and life, with the artist and the architect again to take their places in the world of man.

Both the Dadaists and the members of the Bauhaus saw in blindly accepted tradition the most stultifying feature of human existence. Without doubt, obeisance to tradition could put humanity into a strait-jacket, denying creativity and making virtually impossible any real gestures towards freedom. A passive embracing of all that exists is as nihilistic as the greatest and most aimless urge to destroy.[52] Life becomes lifeless when it is regarded as something to be defined before it is given content; meaning is denied when life is seen as something to be confronted with certainty in the light of predetermined conduct and results. It was for holding such a view of life that the Dadaists condemned the German philistine whose dead values formed the basis for every sphere of

life, including art. The members of the Bauhaus judged the academies in an analogous way, as institutions that catered to the philistine. Philistine reality was a mockery of reality, in which tradition, unexamined with regard to content and validity, was honored "as an unerring guide to what is beautiful and what is right."[53] Such a holy regard for tradition may have seemed merely one result of "thoughtlessness, of misunderstood reverence for the past";[54] yet, at the same time and for its own preservation, tradition had to foster thoughtlessness and uncritical reverence. Not only art academies, but educational institutions in general, and not only in Germany, by their very nature as bureaucratic organizations posed a threat to a transformation of attitudes. Rarely is there a willingness to accept and to incorporate constant changes, an attitude that, to be effective, would have to be accompanied by some degree of intolerance with regard to teachers and other members of the institutions who refuse to acknowledge changes and to revise their own attitudes. Such institutions tended to become the strongholds of tradition, and played a significant role in the opposition to change in Germany. German academics for the most part had not yet gotten into step with the changed and changing intellectual climate, at least not to the tastes of the intellectuals and artists on the left. Tradition had to be challenged, were life to be regained.[55] New art and new life were dependent upon much more than logic, which alone is not and cannot be the source of humanity, peace, and creativity. Kurt Schwitters, very conscious of the problems to be dealt with and of the meaninglessness of formulas and logic alone for art, poetry, and life, noted: "the poet says: '2 x 2 = 5,' then [logical] understanding says: 'That is certainly nonsense!' The poet says '2 x 2 = 4,' then understanding says: 'That is less than nonsense, that is academic . . . .'"[56]

Not only in art but in all aspects of life the Germans rendered unto tradition and academicism, as a very integral part of tradition, what belonged better to life, innovation, and creativity. One may justifiably emphasize the consideration that "the 'art' of the academies is dead. But the art of the living lives, whose forms without analogies arise from the actual requirements of human beings . . . ."[57] The art of the academies was subordinated to state and society, supporting and reinforcing traditional or accepted values; the art of the avantguardiste was subordinate to no one. Expertise is certainly increased when one needs not develop new patterns of action, but needs merely to learn and become increasingly proficient in the application of traditional patterns. Difficulties arise with efforts to fit the world to the old patterns, rather than vice-versa, unless those difficulties are not acknowledged. This is not to say that change is necessarily for the best and must be made for its own sake in accord with some internal logic, but it does mean that an effort is being made to cope with situations that change with the accumulation of actions. "There is only the truth of our age, as there were the truths of past ages. Merz is concerned with helping to find the truth of the age . . . Imitators [are] artistically dead!"[58] The need was to

translate basic values of humanity, individuality, and freedom common to all ages, into actions related to the present and life. In the climate of tradition, there could hardly exist a broad-based, responsible course of political action. Only by negating the blind affinity for tradition as such could there be any real hope for the development of a critical, if not creative, attitude to life, society, and politics.

Accepting what was given him to accept, the bourgeois philistine, and certainly not he alone, renounced the demand that he create his own being, and reversed the existential equation of existence preceding essence, with essence now preceding existence. Trying to relate such a conception to artistic creativity, Paul Klee noted that ". . . form may never be regarded as solution, result, end, but should be regarded as genesis, growth, essence . . . . Form as movement, as action, is a good thing . . . . Form as rest, as end, is bad . . . is the end, death . . . . Formation is life."[59] By accepting, for example, the factual existence of literature, the philistine deluded himself as to the depths of his own thinking. So void was he in the realm of reflection that he was able to immerse himself in books and see therein only his own thoughts being articulated, because he had in fact no thoughts of his own.[60] His passivity was a sufficient denial of his own often uttered contentions about pride in considering himself to be playing a role in a great culture. He was hardly more than an observer of a culture developed and creatively carried on by others in its best moments, about the degradation of which he had no qualms. "That is the curse of culturelessness! Because in reality, the bourgeois is [or was] the greatest hater of tradition [!]. He does not know, or does not want to know, that the dying laugh of the [operatic] clown derives from the [tragic] Ecce homo gesture of the passion play!"[61] The middle-class subject-citizen could be mocked without his realizing the fact. Merely to establish the possibility of stirring him out of his obliviousness, stunts of every conceivable nature were devised. The Cologne Dadaists arranged for the entrance at one of their exhibits to be through the urinal of a beer cellar.[62] On an individual plane, Johannes Baader, in November, 1918, mounted the pulpit of a Berlin cathedral and, among others things, asserted that Christ was a "sausage" or "boob"; in June, 1919, he threw out flyers entitled "The Green Corpse on the White Horse Dada," to the representatives seated in the National Assembly in Weimar, calling for his own proclamation as President of Germany.[63] The immobility of the bourgeoisie made more difficult the initiation of changes in Germany, and suggested greater efficacy for an immediate, revolutionary transformation that would allow little time for the solidifying of resistance beyond what it already was, as might happen were the procedure to be slow, evolutionary, and orderly. Revolution was not carried out, and for the process of evolutionary reform there lacked sufficient ability, concern, and time. Among the basic problems, that of creating or stimulating self-awareness exists for each individual

and each group wishing to concern itself with a change in cultural values. Difficult as the task is to accomplish during a period of calm, how much more difficult when the period is one of political and economic stress, however helped along in Germany by the discontinuities stemming from a lost war and revolutionary turmoil.[64] It was in awareness that the Dadaists saw one key to meaning in life, at the root of which lay the disavowal of any general consensus on the basis of "you should," the ethical and moral efflux of systems and structures.[65] Acceptance of a system was also the acceptance of predetermined meaningfulness which, although apparently valid and meaningful for the accepting individual in his delusion, was in fact meaningless.[66]

In their quest to construct something new, the teachers in the Bauhaus were committed to opposing the efforts of the Weimar traditionalists and interest groups, supported by the political parties of the Right, to resurrect the old art academy. Early opposition to the Bauhaus on this basis was relatively mild, but never disappeared, and was summed up by assertions that the new school was proceeding in a manner contrary to freedom of art and political neutrality, and was misdirecting the cultural tradition of Weimar.[67] A sharing of building and funds, as a possibility an immediate problem for Gropius and the Bauhaus, would be symbolic of the broader battle between old and new world-views. Here, as in the political context, advantage rested with the tried and familiar, which would be virtually assured of triumph in a case of initial compromise.[68] Moreover, compromise would indicate a retreat before the effort to bring art into a living relationship with life, wherein art itself would be again seen as something living and undergoing change, just as does life. The Bauhaus sought to introduce or to help introduce something new, progressing beyond the traditional art bases and unconcerned with the reinforcement of traditionally accepted values, if not opposed to them. Thus the school seemed to challenge the classical art heritage of Weimar, a heritage in which her citizens expressed pride if not haughtiness, a heritage that dictated against any art not expressing Sunday-feelings in fully understandable language.[69] To accept and to understand the Bauhaus, one had to understand that life was not meaningful as Sunday feelings only, and that an art and architectural education program so oriented would hardly be significant in and of itself, and certainly insignificant in relation to society.[70] Gropius asserted further that a revival of the old would also run contrary to the views of the day, and would find no basis in the economic assumptions of the time. Although, as opponents of the Bauhaus contended in the State Legislature, there might have been a shortage of funds for experimentation, experimentation upon which a new Germany was dependent, there could hardly have been sufficient funds to propagate the academy's "art for art's sake."[71] Designating funds for the academy and greatly restricting them or withholding them from the Bauhaus would mark a reversion to dogmatic traditionalism, which had to be unconditionally opposed were a

new Germany to be constructed. Moreover, time and toleration were essential were the Bauhaus to develop to a point at which it might begin to have a beneficial effect upon developments in Germany; this was not to be in Weimar.

Forced to significant proportions, the clash between the Bauhaus and the academy also seemed to indicate a threat raised by the former, in no way historically or traditionally bound or related to Weimar, to the hopes of the citizens of Weimar that their city, the traditional cultural heart of Germany, would key the reconstruction of a familiar but revitalized Germany. To assure the realization of those hopes, the Bauhaus was thus treated as a foreign element that had to be disgorged before the sick body could be healed. That experimental school, seeking to help narrow the gap between the ideal and the real, seeking to stimulate creative activity and to incorporate changes, was a black thorn in the side of Weimar, center of the German spirit, "a noble concept . . . a comforting symbol" of the "*inner* Germany," core of hope for a decimated land.[72] Weimar represented values rooted in the past that could and would make an unhappy present endurable. An intense total concern with the "inner Germany," an inner Germany that had become petrified, as opposed to external reality and irreconcilable with it, created another major problem for those with positive aims for a new Germany. Many of the intellectuals and pseudo-intellectuals preached blind idealism, prayed to intellectual gods whom they neither understood nor believed, eulogized power they lacked, and pondered imponderables in a time of stress. They did not understand that unrelated to reality the intellect was meaningless. In a searing critique of the so-called intellectuals, George Grosz pictured them sitting and wandering around as if inmates of a mental institution: "The Song of the Intellectuals" was "let them take body, possessions, honor, child, and wife, the intellect certainly must remain ours!"[73]

Emphasis has been placed upon the opposition to the propagation of cultural values through tradition, within the broader attack upon the German socio-political structure. Certainly a very basic element in the life of society, the method of educating the young to accept social values on the basis of blind tradition had become a value in and of itself. Once this was perceptively criticized, then might the need for questioning the entire value structure be acknowledged. Obeisance traditionally accorded authority and the representatives of authority, and the resultant, apparently proper, ordering of everything, was accepted as indicative that all was right with the world, a blatant nonsequitur. In prewar Imperial Germany and postwar republican and democratic Germany, though still officially titled the German Empire,[74] the manner in which values were accepted remained the same, as did those values. The average, often stereotyped German of either era still appeared an automaton in his political character, following directions from an official source, by definition correct, and, therefore, not to be questioned.[75] The Germans seemed comparable to a herd of sheep, their appearance of innocence a result of non-commit-

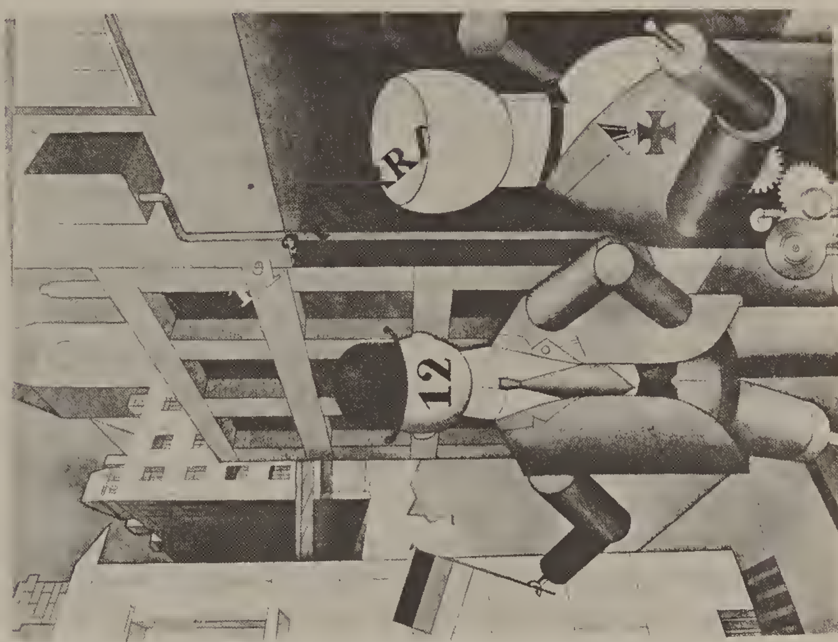




Illustration 6: George Grosz

Right: "Republican Automatons," 1920
Left: "The Song of the Intellectuals," before 1923. ("Let them take body, possessions, honor, child and wife, the intellect certainly must remain ours.")

ment and the repudiation of responsibility. It was an easy task to keep this group under control, and the shepherd, absorbed in weaving a system of world order, did not fail to note with what ease these sheep might be driven to the "great shearing."[76] The German still seemed born to be a subject, very amenable to authority; when treated as a subject, rather than as a citizen by the holders of power, he accepted that treatment without a perceptible murmur. So it seemed to the Dadaists, who were more concerned with this question than were the members of the Bauhaus. One might speculate as to whether the Dadaists would have changed their view of the German philistine had the latter critically analyzed his own situation and concluded that for himself an attitude of subservience was most acceptable and justifiable; undoubtedly, the response would have been that an individual capable of critical self-analysis could not possibly arrive at a conclusion denying him his individuality. Therefore, one might retain hopes for the future. Unquestioning social cooperation did mean self-denial as an individual to the Dadaists, especially when that cooperation was governed by conformity. Dogmatic as they also tended to be, the Dadaists seemed insufficiently aware of the elements that had to be transformed before a utopian vision such as theirs might even partially become reality. Nevertheless, at the same time, apart from their overt concern with society, some of them showed a definite and perceptive interest in the basic transformation of individual man, the creation of a "new man." After such a transformation, one might arrive at the point where truly human values became the basis of honest social structuring and social directioning, values that needed not be dependent for survival upon tradition and authority.

Unchanged, the individual German rejected the possibilities afforded for socio-cultural transformation in the period of flux following war and revolution. The Germans opted for peace and order, security and certainty, for continued subordination: most were prepared for nothing more. But then, not even the Dadaists had found themselves able to act positively, although to be sure for reasons other than those enumerated above. The individual German left responsibility to the leaders and action to the bureaucrats, who were retained, for the sake of order, to perform their old jobs. They continued in the traditional ways of bureaucracy.[77] The brunt of the effort to introduce a new system, underlying which were to be new values, rested with a government that was expected to act, in the vein of previous imperial governments, as if omnipotent, whether or not it in fact was. Accordingly, there was no need for a politically responsible people. "All—trained in freedom,/ All—obey and await the signal / From right to left!"[78] Training and obedience rather than education and free choice, authority rather than democracy: the Germans understood and preferred the former to the latter, and without education to the latter could hardly be expected to accept it.

Introduction of new values, education to their meaning, and practice in translating them into actions all required time and experimentation, a period

during which Germany would have been powerless to play a meaningful role in a world order based upon "open covenants, openly arrived at"—a state of affairs that existed anyway. But what reasons existed that might persuade most Germans to accept such a situation passively and to devote themselves to a transformation of Germany? It was not defeat in war, hardly accepted by most Germans, at least not wholeheartedly, and for those who did accept the defeat, the will to construct something new was barely in evidence.[79] Moreover, with regard to the war, even were the "stab-in-the-back" rejected as legend, there were still the arguments that the war had ended with German troops on foreign soil, forgetting conveniently the direction in which those troops were moving, and, somewhat more sophisticatedly, that the failure of Germany had been a lack of preparation and incomplete mobilization,[80] rather than something more basic. Allied treatment of Germany at the peace conference left something to be desired, according to observers on both sides, and could hardly have served as a positive stimulus for Germans to reconsider their situation in favor of the high ideals of the Western democracies.[81] What was seen as crass mistreatment gave the impression that it was not desired that Germany take a place among those democracies. Lastly, thinking and acting in terms of nations rather than human beings was conducive not to the construction of something new, with an ideal of internationalism, but to the much more rapid reconstruction of something old, so long as the conviction remained that greatness might again be achieved.

A minority, intellectual challenge raised to tradition alone could not have been enough to move the Germans to change their society. Not only the German's approach to the world, but the German himself had to be transformed. Changes in society, in formal structural arrangements, had to be co-ordinated with changes in man.[82] And with this too both the Dadaists and the members of the Bauhaus were concerned.

NOTES

[1] Helmut Arntzen in his *Gegen-Zeitung: Deutsche Satire des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg, 1964), p. 11, criticizes many of the song-writers of the period, including among them Dadaist Walter Mehring, Kurt Tucholsky, and Bertolt Brecht, for relying excessively upon symbolization of this nature.

[2] See above, p. xi.

[3] For example, see Carl Sternheim, *Berlin oder Juste Milieu* (Munich, 1920), pp. 81-82.

[4] Werner T. Angress, *Stillborn Revolution: The Communist Bid for Power in Germany, 1921-1923* (Princeton, New Jersey, 1963), pp. 21-22, 40, 75, 105-106, and passim.

[5] Antonin Artaud, "Cry" (January-March, 1924?), trans. J. Ashbery, in *Art and Literature,* No. 6 (Autumn, 1965), p. 16, last verse.

[6] For example, a public presentation of "Dadaist poems" to be held on the evening of April 7, 1920, was prohibited by the police, probably in Leipzig or Dresden: photocopy of a newspaper notice, lacking title, private collection of Herr Gerhard Stroch, Altenburg; also see R.C., "Der 'Oberdada' vor Gericht . . .," April 21, 1921; W[ieland] Herzfelde, "Die beleidigte Reichswehr," *Der Gegner,* II, vii (1920/21), 271-273; "Unterhaltungen zwischen Ohnesorge und George Grosz," *Das Tage-Buch,* V, viii (February 23, 1924), 240- 248; J[ohn] C. Middleton," 'Bolshevism in Art': Dada and Politics," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language,* IV, iii B1963), 418-419.

[7] The most overt example was a search of Gropius's house in Weimar on November 23, 1923, by the Reichswehr, in response to "reports" concerning "pro-Communist activities" of the Bauhaus students, "pro-Communist statements" by Gropius, and the "Communist art" of the Bauhaus, the reasons enumerated in a letter to Gropius from Lieutenant-General Hasse, military commander in Thuringia, December 6, 1923, 2 pp. See the several letters relating to this incident and datcd between November 24 and December 11, 1923, SG, BD; also, see below, pp. 174-175, for other examples.

[8] See Smelser, *Collective Behavior,* pp. 278-281.

[9] See illustration , p. 109.

[10] Joseph C. Bradley, "George Grosz: A Study of His Life, Art, and Philosophy," Unpublished doctoral dissertation: University of Wisconsin, 1954, p. 64: the author refers to a comment made by Grosz on the back of a photograph of the painting.

[11] With reference to the German professor's traditional relationship to the state and politics, see James J. Sheehan, *The Career of Lujo Brentano: A Study of Liberalism and Social Reform in Imperial Germany* (Chicago, 1966), pp. 56-57; for critical comments on the universities and the post-war academic situation, see Richard Huelsenbeck, *Deutschland muss untergehen! Erinnerungen eines alten dadaistischen Revolutionärs* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 5, 12, and Klaus Epstein, Review of Friedrich Meinecke's *Ausgewählte Briefwechsel,* in *History and Theory,* IV, i (1964), 81-82; for further criticism of the military, schools, universities, and politicans, see, for example, an editorial entitled "Pleite glotzt Euch an restlos," *Die Pleite,* I, i (1919), [1] ; for criticism of Lutheranism and religion subordinate to the state in the context of a mutually exclusive dualism, see Raoul Hausmann, "Militärische Christus–G.m.b.H.," in *Hurra! Hurra! Hurra! 12 Satiren* (Berlin, 1921), pp. 7-8, and of otherworldliness, [Hausmann] , "Sublitterel," *Der Dada,* No. 1 [1919] , p. [3] : "This damned Christ said: see the lilies in the field.

I say: see the dogs in the street."

12 Hausmann, "Ja, so sind die Deutschen nun mal," in *Hurra! Hurra!*, pp. 16-17.

13 Mehring, "Die Schwarze Messe," in *Das Ketzerbrevier: Ein Kabarettprogramm* (Munich, 1921), pp. 128-130; also see, in the same book, "Schwarze Ostern (Victimae paschali laudes [sic]," pp. 111-112, and "Litanei (Kyrie . . .)," pp. 105-107.

14 For some suggestions regarding the difficulty of transition from subject to citizen, see Max Laserson, "Democracy as a Regulative Idea and as an Established Regime: The Democratic Tradition in Russia and Germany," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, VIII, iii (June, 1947), 360-362; one good portrayal of the broader problem context, including the education to and transmission of political values and norms, may be found in David Easton and Robert Hess, "Youth and the Political System," in Seymour M. Lipset and Leo Lowenthal, eds., *Culture and Social Character* (Glencoe, Illinois, 1961), pp. 226-251.

15 Huelsenbeck, *Deutschland muss untergehen!*, p. 8.

16 For a discussion of "legality" as opposed to "legitimacy" see Johnson, *Sociology*, pp. 314-315.

17 For example, Gustav Stresemann, a politician and statesman who maintained his basic political beliefs and party allegiance while participating in his party's change of name from National Liberal to German People's Party, and Friedrich Meinecke, academician and conservative analyst of "reason of state" politics and historicism, became republicans in mind ("Vernunftsrepublikaner"), but not in heart (for Stresemann, see Henry Ashby Turner, Jr., *Stresemann and the Politics of the Weimar Republic* [Princeton, New Jersey, 1963], p. 112, and for Meinecke, see Walter Bussmann, "Politische Ideologien zwischen Monarchie und Weimarer Republik: Ein Beitrag zur Ideengeschichte der Weimarer Republik," *Historische Zeitschrift*, Vol. 190, i [February, 1960], 60).

18 See Talcott Parsons, "Democracy and Social Structure in Pre-Nazi Germany," *Journal of Legal and Political Sociology*, I, i-ii (October, 1942), 109-110 (republished in Parsons' *Essays in Sociological Theory* [New York, 1949, 1954—Revised ed.] pp. 117-119); values and norms, the latter narrowly conceived as the accepted means for achieving given ends and for acting in accordance with values, are essential to the existence and maintenance of social *systems*, as we understand them: see, for example, Daniel Katz and Robert L. Kahn, *The Social Psychology of Organizations* (New York, etc., 1966), pp. 342-343.

19 For an analogous statement regarding the position taken by intellectuals of the left in France, see David Caute, *Communism and the French Intellectuals, 1914-1960* (New York, 1964), p. 96.

20 Huelsenbeck, *Deutschland muss untergehen!*, p. 12.

21 Oskar Schlemmer, *Briefe*, p. 74, Letter to O[tto] M[eyer-Amden], January 25, 1919.

22 Raoul Hausmann, "Alitterel," *Der Dada*, No. 1 [1919], p. [3].

23 See above, p. 128 n. 4.

24 For example, see Bussmann, "Politische Ideologien" (1960), 66; Turner, *Stresemann*, pp. 30, 36; B[ernhard] G[röttrup], "Kleine Anfrage," *Der Pille*, I, x (November 4, 1920), 235.

[25] W[ieland] H[erzfelde], "Neujahrstelegramme," *Die Pleite*, I, vi (Beginning of January, 1920), p. [3].

[26] Huelsenbeck, *Deutschland muss untergehen!*, p. 5.

[27] Richard Huelsenbeck, "Schieber-Politik," *Der blutige Ernst*, No. 4 (1919), p. xiv.

[28] Walter Mehring, "Es war ein Traum,"*Ketzerbrevier*, pp. 86-87.

[29] Kurt Schwitters, "Himbeerbonbon," *Sturm-Bilderbücher IV: Kurt Schwitters* (Berlin, [1918]), p. 32.

[30] Herzfelde, *Immergrün*, p. 107.

[31] For some discussion of this problem in specific terms, see above, pp. 79-80, 83-84.

[32] See Angress, *Stillborn Revolution*, pp. 17-18.

[33] For example, Hannah Höch, painter and associate of the Dadaists, informal interview with the author, Berlin-Heiligensee, January 11, 1966.

[34] George Grosz asserts in his autobiography, *A Little Yes*, that Dada was "completely nihilistic" (p. 182); this judgment contrasts with an earlier statement in the same book that, more meaningfully in the writer's opinion, suggests negation to have been only an intermediate step that could not be superseded until a solution to the socio-cultural problems, as seen by the Dadaists, was found (p. 162).

[35] Relevant in part to this discussion is an article by Werner Spies, "Dada ade! Eine Revolte wird historisch," Frankfurter *Allgemeine Zeitung*, February 24, 1966, no. 46, p. 24.

[36] George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (Cleveland and New York, 1962), pp. 13, 18.

[37] See Raoul Hausmann, "Der individualistische Anarchist und die Diktatur," *Die Erde*, I, ix (May 1, 1919), pp. 276-278; especially note the footnote to the title.

[38] Hans Kreitler, "The Psychology of Dada," in Verkauf, *Dada*, p. 78; Hugnet, "The Dada Spirit . . .," and Hans Richter, "Dada XYZ" (1948), in Motherwell, *Anthology*, pp. 141 and 289, respectively; contrast, for example, with E.L. Zürich, "Mord an Apollo: 'Dada' als anti-europäischer Kultur Anarchismus," *Deutsche Wochenzeitung* (Hannover), January 14, 1966 (clipping may be found in BD, and photocopy in the author's possession).

[39] As related by Kessler, *Tagebücher*, p. 114 (January 28, 1919), who concludes the entry with the comment: "Much childishness, out of which, however, a fresh wind blows."

[40] Relevant to this discussion is a quotation from Michael Bakunin's *The Reaction in Germany*, quoted in George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumović, *The Anarchist Prince: A Biographical Study of Peter Kropotkin* (London and New York, 1950), p. 12: "Let us put our trust in the eternal spirit which destroys and annihilates only because it is the unsearchable and eternally creative source of all life. The urge for destruction is also a creative urge"; in the same vein, Albert Camus asserts that ". . . even the work that negates still affirms something and does homage to the wretched and magnificent life that is ours" ("The Wager of Our Generation," in *Resistance, Rebellion, and Death*, trans. J. O'Brien [New York, 1960], p. 183).

41 See above, p. 115 and p. 130 n. 34.

42 For example, [Stefan Grossmann?], "Tagebuch der Zeit," *Das Tage-Buch,* III, xxix (July 22, 1922), 1017-1018.

43 Among these men of knowledge was Ernst Troeltsch, a sociologist of religion, who as a member of the Democratic Party was elected to the Prussian Diet and gained the position of an Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of Culture, but was unable to translate his telling social and political insights into action: see Eric C. Kollman, "Eine Diagnose der Weimarer Republik: Ernst Troeltschs politische Anschauungen," *Historische Zeitschrift,* Vol. 182, No. 2 (October, 1956), p. 315.

44 C[arl] E[instein], "Abhängigkeit," *Der blutige Ernst,* No. 6 (1919), p. 7, my emphasis; in contrast is the premium placed by the Dadaist on "his own experience!!!": see, for example, Raoul Hausmann, "Pamphlet gegen die Weimarische Lebensauffassung," in Huelsenbeck, *Dada,* p. 35.

45 See below, p. 161.

46 For example, Moholy-Nagy, *Material zu Architektur,* p. 19.

47 See J[ohn] C. Middleton, "Dada versus Expressionism, or The Red King's Dream," *German Life and Letters,* XV, i (October, 1961), 46-47.

48 Raoul Hausmann, "Rückkehr zur Gegenständlichkeit in der Kunst," in Huelsenbeck, *Dada,* p. 110, my emphasis; also see above, p. 6.

49 See Erik H. Erikson's consideration of the dichotomy of idealistic rebellion and obedient submissiveness in the German, *Childhood and Society* (New York, 1963—2nd ed., revised), pp. 332-333.

50 Walter Sokel contends that "self-hatred, rarely paralleled in older literature, links the Expressionist to the Dadaist, who takes the next logical step and destroys himself as an artist" (*Writer in Extremis,* p. 136): self-hatred would more likely, if of such intensity, result in self-destruction not limited to the individual as artist; furthermore, at most, the Dadaist destroyed himself as an artist in favor of himself as a human being, and even here only as artist in the traditional sense—a choice seemed necessary, and that choice favoring the human being was seen as preferable to that favoring the artist, a very positive act; see Kurt Schwitters, "TRAN 35: Dada ist eine Hypotheses," *Der Sturm* ([January], 1924), 32, and Schwitters, *Elementar; Die Blume Anna—Die neue Anna Blume: Eine Gedichtsammlung aus den Jahren 1918-1922, Einbecker Politurausgabe* (Berlin, [ca. 1922-1924 (?)]), p. 16.

51 There is a partial photographic reproduction of Schwitters' first Merz construction in Kunstverein Hannover, *Die Zwanziger Jahre in Hannover,* pp. 142-143; also see above, pp. 50, 69 n. 50: the quote from Huelsenbeck, more complete, is "the new medium . . . points to the absolutely self-evident that is within reach of our hands, to the natural and naive, to action."

52 See Albert Camus, *The Rebel: An Essay on Man in Revolt,* trans. A. Bower (New York, 1958), for example, p. 101.

53 Moholy-Nagy, *Material zu Architektur,* p. 72, translated in *The New Vision: From Material to Architecture,* trans. D.M. Hoffmann (New York, [1930]), p. 59.

54 Moholy-Nagy, op.cit.

[55] For example, Walter Mehring notes that after the war he placed all his hopes for the future "on the defeat of tradition" (*The Lost Library: The Autobiography of a Culture*, trans. R. and C. Winston [Indianapolis and New York, 1951], p. 177).

[56] *Memoiren Anna Blumes in Bleie: Eine leichtfassliche Methode zur Erlernung des Wahnsinns für Jedermann* (Freiburg [Baden], 1922), p. 7.

[57] Moholy-Nagy, *Material zu Architektur*, p. 73.

[58] K[urt] Schwitters, "Watch Your Step!" *Merz*, No. 6 (October, 1923), pp. 58-59.

[59] Klee, *Thinking Eye*, p. 169 (December 5, 1921).

[60] See Raoul Hausmann, "Adolf Kutschenbach," in *Hurra! Hurra!*, pp. 40-41: German youths "make huge efforts to think, without ever being able to grasp a single thought of their own"; also see Kandinsky, *Point and Line to Plane*, p. 63: " 'Today' human beings are completely absorbed with the external. The inner is dead for them . . . . The 'modern' individual seeks inner tranquillity . . . and believes this quiet to be found in inner silence."

[61] Walter Mehring, "Conference mystique im esoterischen Kabarett," *Die neue Schaubühne*, II, xi (November, 1920), 287.

[62] For example, Richter, *Dada*, pp. 165-166.

[63] Ibid., pp. 129-130; Hausmann, *Courrier Dada*, pp. 76-77.

[64] See Kornhauser, *Politics of Mass Society*, pp. 125, 132, 168-170: totalitarian movements, though, need not be the only ones able to capitalize on discontinuities.

[65] Richard Huelsenbeck, "Einleitung," in Huelsenbeck, ed., *Dada Almanach: Im Auftrag des Zentralamts der deutschen Dada-Bewegung* (Berlin, 1920), p. 7, reprinted in Huelsenbeck, *Dada*, p. 103—also see p. 102.

[66] For example, Fallico, *Art & Existentialism*, pp. 16-17.

[67] See the "Leitsätze und Forderungen der am 22. Januar 1922 im überfüllten Armbrustsaale staatgehabten Kundgebung der Einwohnerschaft Weimars für Wiederherstellung der alten Kunsthochschule," signed by "Die gewählten Einwohnerausschüsse. J.A. Muth—Oberlehrer am Realgymnasium," STAW, Thüringisches Ministerium für Volksbildung (Weimar): Abteilung C II—Kunstinstitute, No. 277; Schlemmer, *Briefe*, pp. 109-110, Letter to T[ut Schlemmer], March 3, 1921; election advertisement of the German People's Party (Deutsche Volkspartei, DVP), in the Weimar newspaper *Deutschland*, June 17, 1920; Albert Stern, "Wird dem Landtag der 'Geist Weimars' erscheinen? Ein offener Brief an die Herren Landtagsabgeordneten," Thüringer, *Tageszeitung*, July 3, 1920; "Die Kammer der bildenden Künstler Thüringens gegen das Staatliche Bauhaus," *Mitteldeutsche Zeitung*, July 7, 1920; Mathilde Freiin von Freytag-Loringhoven, *Das Staatliche Bauhaus und die Kunstschule im Staatshaushaltsplan für 1920* (Brochure), p. 4—the three indicated clippings and brochure are to be found in SG, SB No. 1, BD; "Die Schüler von Prof. M. Thedy an der Hochschule für Malerei," *Deutschland*, November 10, 1920; "Weimarisches Staatliches Bauhaus und Hochschule für bildende Kunst," *Deutschland*, March 2, 1921—both in SG, SB No. 2, BD; for references to general opposition to the Bauhaus, see above, pp. 62-63; in 1924, when the triumph of the traditionalists in Weimar was already certain, a friend of the Bauhaus revealed some of the Weimar hypocrisy, suggesting the decision to transform the late baroque-style Belvedere Castle and Garden into a municipal police headquarters as

evidence of the care accorded tradition; P. (?), "Denkmalsschandung in Weimar," *Der Cicerone,* XVI, x (1924), 472.

68 For reference to this aspect of the problem of a middle course in politics, see Gustav Schmidt, *Deutscher Historismus und der Übergang zur parlamentarischen Demokratie: Untersuchungen zu den politischen Gedanken von Meinecke-Troeltsch-Max Weber, Historische Studien,* No. 389 (Lübeck and Hamburg, 1964), p. 28.

69 Bruno Adler, "Bildende Kunst in Weimar," *Das Volk,* April 22, 1921, SG, SB No. 2, BD, and in Wingler, *Bauhaus,* p. 58.

70 See, especially, Gropius, "[Concerning the Problems of the Bauhaus]," February 3, 1922, p. 7, STAW, St. B'haus temp. Nos. 187-188; also, Wilhelm Renner, "Heutige Schwarzweisskunst," *Die Pille,* II, iv (January 27, 1921), 98-99.

71 Transcript of a letter from the Masters' Council of the Bauhaus to the Area Government, Depart of Culture, Weimar (a reiteration of letters sent on February 9, March 31, and December 13, 1920), January 20, 1921, STAW, Thüringisches Ministerium für Volksbildung (Weimar): Abteilung C II – Kunstinstitute, No. 283 (p. 82); also see the letter from Lyonel Feininger to State Minister [of the Interior] Paulsen, February 16, 1921, pp. 2-3, remarking upon Weimar's earlier support [when the Socialist and Democrat Parties were in full power!] for the new that had given way to insistence upon the reestablishment of the old and contrary: STAW, Thüringisches Ministerium für Volksbildung, No. 277—this letter contradicts some of the statements written by Feininger to his wife, following his arrival in Weimar in the Spring of 1919, which refer to the battle with the Legislature, the opposition to the Bauhaus being stirred up in Weimar, and how he himself was considered a "red flag": two letters are dated May, 1919, and a third May 19, 1919, FP, No. 1445-II [1919] /6, [1919] /13-14, [1919] /2.

72 Hans Wahl, "Das jüngste Weimar," in Paul Kuhn, *Weimar* (Leipzig, 1921—3rd ed., edited by H. Wahl), p. 192; see above for further references to Weimar, pp. 80-81.

73 See illustration, p. 125.

74 See, for example, Otis H. Fisk, *Germany's Constitutions of 1871 and 1919: Texts with Notes and Introductions* (Cincinnati, 1924), p. 146.

75 Two of the most pointed pictorial criticisms were drawings by George Grosz: "Republican Automatons," drawn in 1920 (see illustration, p. 125)—mannequin figures, geometric in shape, rigid, and with blank spheres as faces, are inactive in poses of activity, their identifying features as republicans being the flag one carries and the title of the drawing (for further stylistic considerations and a relating of this style to that of de Chirico, see Bradley, "Grosz," pp. 26-27); in the drawing "We are born to obey," the symbols of monarchy, the church, and the constitution (or justice) form a pole holding the figure on his back against the ground—reproduced in *Hintergrund: 17 Zeichnungen zur Aufführung des 'Schwejk' in der Piscator-Bühne* (Berlin, 1928), p. 17.

76 Walter Mehring, *Europäische Nächte: Eine Revue in drei Akten und zwanzig Bildern* (Berlin, 1924), pp. 53-54.

77 For example, see Franz Blei, *Unsittliche Literatur und deutsche Republik: §184* (Hannover, 1921), p. 25: among other things, a continuation of censorship after it had been officially suspended was merely a matter of "bureaucratic automatism" that was extended to many things; Ernst Troeltsch also mentioned the uniqueness and anti-revolutionary character of maintaining the old bureaucracy, this being one characteristic justifying talk of a "sham revolution" (Troeltsch, *Spektator-Briefe,* p. 222 ["Auf der Weg

zur neuen Mitte," October 7, 1921], and see Kollman, "Diagnose der Weimarer Republik" [1956], p. 308).

78 Mehring, "Dressur," *Europäische Nächte*, p. 10.

79 There had been the belief among some individuals, including Walter Gropius (see above, p. 30), that the effects of war and deprivation would convince Germans of the need to reevaluate their condition in the world, their values and their society, and to involve themselves in the creation of something new and more viable; in contrast, it seemed, at least in Berlin, that as Germany's position deteriorated, "inner self-destruction" of the people increased, in the sense of apathy with no desire to seek the values so essential to a transformation (Brieger and Stiemer, eds., *Zirkus Berlin*, p. 177), and then came the roaring 'twenties, obscuring everyone's vision.

80 Such was the major argument of, for example, Ernst Jünger, a popularizer of the concepts of the hero and power: See Bussmann, "Politische Ideologien" (1960), p. 67.

81 "Defeat" suffered at the conference table is more humiliating than defeat in war and, if subsequent acceptance of the victor's values is indicative of his values being better than the loser's, would strengthen opposition to those values to prove a continuing belief on the part of the loser in the superiority of his own values, and that he has no "need" to identify with the victor, even though he may in fact have some doubts about his values; see the discussion in Lucian W. Pye, *Politics, Personality, and Nation Building: Burma's Search for Identity* (New Haven and London, 1962), p. 4.

82 Refer to Katz and Kahn, *Social Psychology*, pp. 390-392: both the psychological and sociological fallacies, the consideration of either aspect exclusively with reference to large-scale change, must be avoided.

CHAPTER VI

THE NEW MAN: BIRTH AND MISBIRTH[1]

"Our society is the affliction":[2] Lothar Schreyer's verdict agreed with those of the members of the Storm circle and the progressive artist-intellectuals of Germany. Naive in its general disregard for the real complexities of total social and cultural transformation, this attitude implied that man's creation, rather than man himself, was at fault. Imposition of norms ill-adapted to the age had adversely affected man, but their removal would make it possible for man's basic qualities, including humanity and mutual consideration, to come to the surface again. Destruction of the old socio-cultural structure of Germany would result in a transformation of man as he then was into man as he might be. In a situation of total freedom, he would be forced to make his own choices and to rely upon himself and values derived from his being, rather than upon existing values imposed from without. Previously, the social situation had come to precede man in importance; the hope was now to reverse that order, with man preceding the social situation, as he should.

Intentions in the Bauhaus regarding the hoped-for final result of the socio-cultural transformation in maximum individual freedom were not dissimilar from those of the Dadaists. What differed was that in the school efforts were dedicated to help institute changes in the socio-cultural situation, which would be followed by changes in man, whereas the Dadaists seemed to have derived from their observance of the post-revolutionary course of events the conviction that man had to change first. In the Bauhaus community, the hope was to realize a minimally structured social organization in which the individual would not lose by relinquishing some of his freedom, and which might serve as a model for a changing society. Success for the Bauhaus community, ideally visualized, depended upon the development of a new type of artist and architect, which in turn depended upon ridding the individual of old socio-cultural concepts, and thus upon the effectiveness of the Bauhaus program and community; the mutual dependency of each upon the other provided an interesting challenge for the creative members of the school. But if the Bauhaus, aided in its efforts by a degree of isolation from society (though still affected by contemporary political and economic problems), and drawing upon the exceptional individuals who joined the school, could not realize such a community, was it valid to think that any model for a community could be effectively translated to a societal scale without a previous transformation of man? Success for the Dadaists was also dependent upon doing away with old socio-cultural concepts, as inhibitors in the development of a new man. Thus, for both groups, concern with society preceded concern with man, not because it should but because it appeared to

them that man had allowed this to happen. In the case of the Dadaists, who saw society in negative terms and reserved their positive concern to man as individual, a free social situation had to precede any transformation of man, who was fettered by society, the society he had created. For the members of the Bauhaus, it was their new model that might guide the course of the ultimate transformation of man, or the new architecture might affect him in a more subtle way.[3] In both cases, the artist-intellectuals believed in the possibility of change because they considered themselves already changed, in the sense of human beings rather than as creative artists. Man, as individual, did precede collective considerations, and, because of this, emphasis was initially placed upon transforming a closed socio-cultural situation into an open one.

It might be argued that the optimistic belief of the artist-intellectuals in the possibility of a transformation of man was naive in its child-like simplicity, just as one might argue that a situation not entirely conceivable in the light of the present would be utopian and unrealizable. On the other hand, without optimism's giving some degree of justification and support for belief in the possibility that significant change might occur, ideals would be rejected by their holders as utopian, not to be sought after unless one were also seeking eternal frustration. A belief in the strength and potential of man was basic for the German artist-intellectuals;[4] the temporarily dormant characteristics of man upon which they based their utopian visions—humanity being the major one—justified that belief. However much the German, as he then appeared, was criticized, there was certainty in the avowal that he could and would change. With the aid of models and the transformation or dissolution of the old socio-cultural structure, man would be able to change himself. And that change would be initiated by persuasiveness and education, not force or eugenics. What had to and would occur, thereby assuring the survival of any structural changes, was the change in man that was virtually inevitable once the elements restricting and artificially defining interhuman relationships were stripped away: those elements, including an unnatural reverence for tradition, unthinking obedience to proferred authority, and honor that was meaningful only in relation to superficialities, concealed and perverted the humanity of man, which should in fact be the basis of relationships between men.[5]

Conceived of in the classical age, sanctified with the origin of Christianity, re-"secularized" in the eighteenth century and then again sanctified in its secularity as a tenet of the French Revolution, the idea of the "new man" had to be accorded its due in the new revolutionary period.[6] In their efforts to depict the "new man," the artist-intellectuals, as with their utopias, again had their sights set upon something that, though not exclusively theirs, was limited to exceptional individuals who had proven their capacities in the past; as new beings, they would be capable of acting altruistically and leading the way into a new and brighter future.[7] The "new man" was not totally new, but rather

was a man who had come to realize the desirability of translating certain potentially effective human characteristics into reality. Change would follow the discovery of a mis-directed past; the qualities of "honesty, humanity, and kindness" would triumph and transcend the struggle of "two souls in one breast."[8] As was their wont, the artist-intellectuals tended not to delineate the "new man," except to indicate those very general values that, hopefully, would form the basis for his life, a life of openness and change. In contrast, National Socialist ideologists, for whom the "new man" was also crucial, felt it essential to characterize him carefully: only then could an elite be formed, whose mystical "internal order" would be recognized and co-ordinated with the "natural laws of being."[9] As conceived by the artist-intellectuals, the new man would be rooted in humanity, the one concept that could make it possible to transcend the divisive elements of modern industrial society, and that could cut across the bounds of class and nation. This was the antithesis of the Nazi vision of the new man rooted in the historically evolved "Volk," fitting into an ordered hierarchy analogous to that of the medieval community, although very different from the community, or the spirit of community, that was envisioned in the Bauhaus. The soul of the artist-intellectuals' new man was not to be tamed, nor was his individualism to be ordered; nevertheless, adherence to a responsible humanity and basic Judaeo-Christian ideals in the fullest sense would prevent a situation of chaotic pluralism.[10]

Educated as artist and human being, the new artist and architect of the Bauhaus were free in and responsible for the realization of their own potential, creating in and for this world. It was in the freedom to act, specifically stipulated as action in a social sense by the Bauhaus as a school ultimately concerned with architecture, and the readiness to act responsibly that the members of the Bauhaus and the Dadaists met in their views of the "new man." Man existed in his potentiality, which would be realized through his acting.[11] The Dadaist critique of German society and cultural values, apart from criticisms of the German himself, made it evident that a psychological change had to be intertwined with the socio-cultural transformation, were the latter to be viable. Devoted to humanity and love not merely as ideal concepts and aims, but also as determinants for action, the new man would assure new construction rather than reconstruction in Germany. Only a changed man could find his roots in or establish a society based upon new values.[12] Criticism of man as he was necessarily accompanied the criticism of basic values, clarifying the areas in which the individual would have to make changes through knowledgeable responsibility and humanity. That there had to be a transformation of man was acknowledged and, allowing for some misdirection of critical efforts, there was nevertheless substantial agreement with the "utopian tradition" and its prerequisite *"moral regeneration of man, and no mere manipulation of unregenerate men."*[13] It was here that the critic Hans von Wedderkop found the roots for the antagonism

expressed towards the Dadaists, whose concern was not with "a change in the work of art, but rather with a fundamental change in man,"[14] which was outside the province of artists and was a devastating threat to man's security. Regardless of how the artist-intellectuals felt this change would come about, they were aware of its necessity, were Germany itself to be changed.

Most at ease with negatives and, thus, with preconditions for a future course of action, rather than the course of action itself, the Dadaists, and artist-intellectuals generally, directed their emphasis primarily to social rather than psychological considerations.[15] Their clearest proposals were the most general ones: little or no specificity was necessary to elaborate upon means that might be employed in direct action to the end of eliminating the artificial strictures that had been imposed upon man. Not charged with the task of developing a positive program, the artist-intellectuals generally did not delve into the complexities of modifying an individual's approach to a society into which his initiation began immediately after birth. With this a concern, Itten had developed a well-defined program for the Introductory Course in the Bauhaus; but this program, too, was geared to selected individuals, not to society, and, although analogous methods might have been devised as applicable to areas outside art, none of the artist-intellectuals considered the problem seriously. The greatest need was to root out old attitudes and thereby create the ground for the inculcation of new ones. The capacities of the artist-intellectuals dictated to them that such was an individual matter, in which introspection and self-awareness would have to play the major role. Probably artist-intellectuals would have agreed with Paul Klee when he indicated, at the outbreak of World War I, that war was nothing new to him, being little more than an externalization of one that he had already fought within himself.[16] But only after such a war, which was the war for self-realization, could the individual become a full human being. As Klee had written twelve years earlier: " . . . the main thing now is . . . to become an individual. The art of mastering life is the prerequisite for all further forms of expression. . . . Not only to master life in practice, but to shape it meaningfully within me. . . ."[17] And there was no delusion concerning the reality of the internal struggle, the difficulties it entailed, and the length of time that might be necessary to carry it to a successful conclusion. Realistic in their consideration of the dimensions of the necessary struggle, the artist-intellectuals failed to consider how the majority of Germans could be introduced to and involved in it.

In terms relating man to society, the war each individual had to fight within himself before being ready to embark upon a humanly creative course in life would perhaps be best conceived of as a war between individual psychological characteristics and social values and norms, with the goal not a synthesis of the two but rather a dynamic interrelationship, requiring a discarding of diametrically opposed, irreconcilable—and thus necessarily dualistic—concepts.

With the confrontation of social and individual poles, the varieties of possible action would be maximized, and could be maintained at a maximum if one were able to accept critically the resultant situation of ambiguity without compromising one's willingness or ability to act. The question was not one of being influenced and swayed by the arguments of another individual, but of being able to arrive at a position in accord with the metaphysical and ethical concept of humanity rooted in the individual and not the collectivity. Further, it was a question for the German of living through in fact, and quickly, what he had so many times observed in the German *Bildungsroman*: the authors of those lengthy novels treating the development of self-awareness, self-identification, and the education of the self in the world, had performed the task for the many in the past, and the many read, enjoyed, and observed as analysts, perhaps participating, to a degree, vicariously, but they never went through those processes on their own. Although ultimately this entire development would be necessary for the formation of a new culture, merely to have reached the point from which a beginning might have been made would have sufficed, for then, at least, others would have had a reasonable chance to introduce new elements without having to challenge all the old elements on the latter's terms. A degree of willingness was essential were the war for the realization of self to be fought, and to inspire that willingness was in itself a major challenge; unlike the individual seeking to develop his creative capacities, who in his growth had to question and seek, the quest of the average man was for certainty and security. Thus, the artist-intellectual would be hard put to provide a model for the German, and Klee perhaps most hard put of all: he had resolved his war and elevated himself into the role of a creator, above man, thus virtually detaching himself and his work from anything social in significance.[18]

Whereas the internal war was perhaps symbolized for Klee by the war fought between nations, in his personal course of development only the results of that war and not the conflict situations were externalized. On the other hand, the Dadaists made an effort with their manifestoes and contrary art forms to turn that war into an overtly boisterous affair, a communal affair, perhaps thereby making it easier for individual participation. But ultimate significance of the war, which involved rational and irrational (or a-rational) elements, remained to some extent beyond understanding as such and only in its results. Dadaist concern was to help initiate the vital personal war for everyone, as the military war had failed to do. Questioning everything, the Dadaists would, hopefully, be able to reveal to the individual—or help him to reveal to himself—those elements of his life-view that were meaningless. The sloughing off of unquestioned suppositions and values might at least uncover the basis for a new man at the core of the old. Eventually, the reward for optimism would be a transformation of the man who the Dadaists and Bauhaus members saw as German into a human being, a being with sensibility, whose values were an

integral part of him, rather than consigned to a separate sphere of their own, a showpiece that was not to be tarnished by use. Values read about and preached about, having meaning only in and for themselves and not because of their praiseworthy translation into reality, gave at best pseudo-justification for action: Goethe and Kant in the knapsack one carried to war or in one's bookcase at home were not part of a meaningful cultural and intellectual heritage.[19] The question of whether Christ had lived was transformed into that of *"have you been born . . .?"*[20]

Although couched in vague terms, the point was made that the new man was to be a synthesizer rather than an analyzer. He was to be the whole being, for whom specialization, in accord with an industrial and technological age, would be necessary, but which would not precede an education to totality, the imperative requisite for harmony between individuals in the new age. Emphasis upon such an approach was of special importance in the Bauhaus, which had to skirt the danger of concerning itself with an education aimed only at art and architecture. Looking back at the course of development in the institution, Wassily Kandinsky explained that "the student [of the Bauhaus was] ideally to be prepared not only as a new specialist, but also as a new human being [that is, new man]."[21] This new man, this new artist-intellectual, would play a key role in the development of the new community that would be the new Germany. It was not through an incorporation and eradication of the individual in the quest for a greater whole that the new community would be formed, but through his development to the point of greatest individual self-awareness, development of the individual's capacity for the realization of his own human potentialities, and creative interrelationships with other individuals.[22] As difficult to realize as were complete social, cultural, and political changes, it was even more difficult to achieve a transformation in man, a transformation dependent upon individual and social psychology. In the post-war period of flux existed the greatest possibility for such a transformation of the individual, when ambiguity and competition for allegiance existed on the levels of values and socio-political forms. At that time, the height of optimism was understandably reached by those hopeful of aiding the process of transformation in a free, individualistic, and responsible way. It was in this atmosphere that the Bauhaus had been founded, and Gropius had compellingly appealed to the young men of Germany to participate in building a new Germany from the roots up. An energetic presentation of will by the youth as "spiritual storm-troopers" would convince the old bureaucrats of the need for a new structure, a new whole and not merely new parts. Impetus from the youth would be a key factor in stimulating a new feeling of community *(Gemeinsamkeit)* among those "new men, changed by the war and the experiencing of death."[23] Gropius's call again revealed his optimism: assuming similar reactions among men to the monstrosity that was war and the completeness of the revolution, the time for a new construction had

arrived. Belying that optimistic picture were the criticisms by the Dadaists, and an increasing awareness of difficulties inherent in instituting changes that accompanied developments in the Bauhaus.

"Because I love humanity, I must hate mankind."[24] Although Melchior Vischer, the author of this statement, was only on the periphery of the Dadaist movement, he might well have been speaking for the group. The hatred expressed was for the "old man," the man who was a member of a mankind that had seemingly rejected humanity. Referring specifically to the German, the attitude of the Berlin Dadaists was also relevant in more general terms: it was not the German alone who had fought in the war, nor was it the German alone who was taking an irresponsible course of action after the war. It was not merely a question of a mankind blind to humanity, but of a mankind that, when confronted with a choice between humanity and inhumanity (understood as all that was outside of man, including his own artificial, dead creations), freely chose inhumanity,[25] and was certain that his choice had been justified. Were there no basic change in man, were there no humility introduced into his character, the choice in favor of inhumanity would again be made. Lack of humility had been and would continue to be detrimental for both the individual and society;[26] without this quality, there could be no hope for a new community of men within Germany, and no hope for any real international understanding. Reverence for tradition and conviction as to the correctness of what tradition advocated had left no room for humility. Complete justification seemed to exist for the pride with which each pre-ordained action on behalf of the nation was undertaken. Thus might a government depict the propriety of its wars, and an individual his role in those wars; there was no need to explain the actions taken by governments in the national interest or by men.

Arrayed in opposition to the "soul of the normal man,"[27] the Dadaists claimed that the "normal man's" soul (or motive force) was no longer his core of being, but rather was what encysted that core of being, dependent upon direction and security from without, the ascendancy of man over man, of man as God, king, and/or father over man as subordinate.[28] Lacking a conception of reality formed from his own experience, as a pre-formed and other-directed being that was without the desire and, perhaps, the ability to draw meaning from his actions, man had become an "empty-running absurdity": as such he could be represented mechanically in a cabaret number, the core of his being represented by small slips of paper stamped "soul."[29] Hausmann suggests that whoever in the audience failed to grasp the essential absurdity of this concept should have the fate of becoming president of Germany, thereby categorizing the bourgeois non-being with a bourgeois non-regime, a regime whose greatest tasks were to restore economic and political order and to build a supporting base for a democratic republic, to that point a non-democratic non-republic. It was in the supporting base that this problem was related to the new man: to be sufficiently large, the base would have to be composed of bourgeoisie and workers, forming

a strong middle in the political spectrum;[30] while the worker might easily fit into the role of the new man, could the man of the middle class? The importance of the new man thus resonated throughout both the social and political structures, with the development of new structures dependent upon those who were to be the agents of conception and birth.

Many, though not all, of the Dadaists, along with the left-tending artist-intellectuals, idealized the proletariat.[31] They were the people least encumbered by the elements of bourgeois society; this assumption was valid in reference to the many uncommitted voters among the workers,[32] but not for those who were members of the trade unions, which played a very active role in efforts to reinstitute order in Germany. Because he had not had a place within the official political structure of Germany, nor was his social class an integral part of German society, the worker would seemingly be most able to participate in building a new socio-political structure. For this reason, the Dadaists claimed to be fighting on the side of the revolutionary proletariat, evidenced as a group gesture by a sign to that effect displayed prominently at the "First International Dada Fair" in Berlin in the Summer of 1920, and they aimed their attacks at the bourgeoisie, the group that had to be changed.[33] Hausmann stated that, in fact, the bourgeois type was not the normal man, and should not be so considered; the new human type was in the process of formation.[34] Perhaps it was in part the realization that such statements were little more than the verbalization of wishful thinking, when contrasted with reality—still dominated by the bourgeoisie[35]—that enhanced the idealizing of the workers. At one point Hausmann, George Grosz, and Hannah Hōch, together with other artist-intellectuals, vividly attested to their love for the proletariat: only with the proletariat and in communism would the equal value of all men and all work be realized; only then would there be freedom from slavery (in the literal sense, not only wage slavery) and exploitation, and only then would the true human community become reality. "To us, this avowal for revolution, for a new community, is no lip service. [It means the desire] to work in the construction of the new human community, the community of working individuals!"[36] The worker was the undefiled man, the "natural" man, were anyone to be so considered, and when freed from his bonds he would be the key element in the construction of a new Germany. Accordingly, the artist-intellectual in sympathy with the cause of revolution pictured the worker as embodying all that would be good and new: only he was free of the stigma ever to be attached to the bourgeoisie (and all the other traditional classes of society).[37] At the same time, the Dadaist claim of solidarity with the working-class was certainly one-sided, and the workers, collectively or individually, undoubtedly paid them little, if any, heed.[38] Moreover, whatever their sympathies, the artist-intellectuals for the most part were not of proletarian origins, and had only their righteous indignation at social injustice as a non-ideological basis for their fight

in behalf of the proletariat. Reflecting upon his trip to Russia in 1922, Grosz noted that he was not of the proletariat, could not be freed, and that his concern with freedom was not primarily an economic matter.[39]

Regardless of their idealization of the proletariat, and some art works that were consciously social or political in orientation, most Berlin Dadaists, along with the members of the Bauhaus, would have agreed with the "Manifesto on Proletarian Art" published in Kurt Schwitters' *Merz.* Art intended for a specific class of men was insignificant for life: what the artist creates is intended for all men. There could be no such thing as art made by the proletariat, for once a member of the proletariat has created a work of art he becomes a member of the group "artists." Proletarian art was but an imitation of bourgeois art that did nothing to transcend those circumstances incipient to the dichotomizing of proletariat and bourgeoisie.[40] Based upon an assumed affinity among all artists, the "Manifesto on Proletarian Art" suggests that such is in fact a human affinity that might be generalized and could be meaningful without a preceding war between classes. The "Manifesto" is an expression on behalf of an ideal classless society, little related to Marxism-Leninism or the "Proletarian Culture" that was propagated in the Soviet Union.[41] The focus was not upon politics or economics, but upon a world-view and a total consideration of man—in the given situation, a total transformation of man.[42]

Their attacks upon the bourgeois individual were intended by the Dadaists, as expressed at an early date by Grosz, to tear away the mask that had been given him to wear, to rid him of that wonderful discovery composed of traditions and whiskey.[43] Once this task were accomplished, the undefended bourgeois could hardly fail to acknowledge the emptiness that surrounded him and the meaninglessness of passively accepted values. Condoned by authority, that mask both hid and flaunted his conformity; it was the accepted expression of an artificial solidarity created by uniforms and laws. Hidden from himself behind the symbols of the husk surrounding his core of being, he was oblivious to virtually all criticism, except when a rent appeared in that husk, as after a lost war and during a period of uncertainty. But how were the individuals who were aware and concerned to criticize effectively "[those] beings whose brains, criticism, reason, whose humanity disappears with the uniform . . ."[44] be it the uniform made of cloth or the sturdier uniform made of traditions? Although optimism dictated a belief that something existed beneath the glittering, superficially impressive surface, it remained a question as to whether a significant core might in fact be ultimately discovered. Discovery or development of that something beneath the surface depended upon the individual's developing self-awareness, and then proceeding with both formation and transformation. In later reflections upon Dada, Johannes Baader referred to a letter he had written in 1920, which ended: "We take the viewpoint that things can only be bettered if we say the truth, determinedly and uncivilly. Therefore we tear the mask from

the face of every hypocrisy. What is pure cannot be destroyed by us."[45]

In their initial critique, the Dadaists implied that there was a definite possibility for the transformation of man. As the situation of extraordinary social and political flux in Germany was brought under control, conviction that there might be a revolution both of values and of the individual was undermined. The masks and the uniforms were again being donned, and the possibility of maintaining a door open to change was rapidly disappearing. As optimism faded, a very real question arose about the assumption that it was possible for men to undergo transformation and become better than they were.[46] In contrast to an optimism tempered by increasing uncertainty and concomitant cynicism among the Dadaists, the belief in the possibility for change and construction continued among those in the Bauhaus, contributed to by the relative social isolation of the school. They believed that man had to be and could be educated; that task could not be relinquished. There was a commitment to the future, a commitment to man as being in becoming. As expressed at a much earlier date by Lyonel Feininger, the present was a time for work, work through which ran a longing for the future and for the light that might be discovered in the midst of darkness.[47] One had to confront man with possibilities and potentialities, rather than with a mirror that could hardly do more than evoke a nervous, hesitant chuckle at what was being masqueraded as art or, much more critically, as life. With constant change in forms of expression as the basis of creativity, and constant change as one key to substantial life, the artist-intellectual sought a public also willing and able to undergo constant change. To this end, he would attempt to develop his own relationship to society more fully, and to participate in the creation of the type of individual for whom art would be meaningful, and whose response to art would also be meaningful. New ideas and new forms were not only a concern of the artist-intellectual, if the results of his efforts were to be more than something superimposed upon man and his milieu. Effective significance depended ". . . *as well upon the inner transformation of the spectator—Man as alpha and omega of every artistic creation which, even in its realization, is doomed to remain Utopia so long as it does not find intellectual and spiritual receptivity and response.*"[48]

Just as artist and spectator were related, so were both to society; in fact, through the spectator the artist could hope to find his most effective link with society. In considering the relation of the individual to society, significant attention had to be given to the prevention of his becoming again or continuing as a being subordinate to the needs of societal continuity. On the borderline between considerations of society and the individual, concerning as it does the identification of the individual and his role in society, is the question of titles accorded individuals, which resulted in an interesting debate in the Bauhaus.

As a part of its educational reforms, the Bauhaus sought to change the

designation of professor and student to Master, Journeyman, and Apprentice. Harking back to the medieval concept of a work community, to which the Bauhaus was theoretically analogous, the instituting of new titles had been part of the effort to create closer and more meaningful relationships between teachers and students than previously existed in Germany. By discarding the professor-student concept, it was hoped that a change would be initiated in the attitudes of individuals within the educational situation and in social attitudes having to do with those individuals. This problem exemplified some of the difficulties involved in achieving a new basis for identity in a new society. The quest, at least initially, required the acceptance of ambiguities preceding the establishment of a new, evolving, and viable structure to replace the old ordering structure, though the latter might easily have helped to eliminate post-war insecurity and chaos, as did the old values when reasserted; such would also have increased the improbability of creating something new.

The title problem arose in 1922, at the same time that the Bauhaus program was being reevaluated for changes in its postulated approach to goals and in the various formal institutional procedures.[49] Debate centered upon the problems raised by the desire to present an image of the Bauhaus as a modern institution (which was seemingly undermined by romantic references to the Middle Ages, the *Bauhütten,* and the titles of Master, Journeyman, and Apprentice), a desire to introduce changes into academic life, and a desire to relate the individuals in the Bauhaus to society in a way meaningful to them and to society-at-large, as opposed to the accustomed separation of old. The last of these aims, if pursued, would mean, at least from the viewpoint of those most concerned with a break from the recent past, compromising with a society that had yet to undergo change, and thus support for society as it was. As intimated in the preceding chapter, recourse to the familiar, especially in a situation wherein the new had little or no support, could easily result in a compromising of, or a complete defeat for, the new. With apparently just this in mind, Lothar Schreyer wrote the most extensive commentary on the title question; he based his argument on the assertion that the utilization of old titles would mean reestablishing the bourgeois ideology with which the Bauhaus, among other groups, had decided to break. Efforts to achieve something new and to aid in the transformation and renewal of man had been predicated upon a refusal to compromise with the ideas and forms of an older world-view, which had been rejected by the staff members of the school in their art and in accordance with their interpretation of the ramifications of the revolution. Although efforts and aims of the group were future-oriented, they would not remain and prevail as such if there was any retreat to the past. Founded in opposition to academies and professors, and the system they had sought to perpetuate, the Bauhaus would be inviting defeat for its ideas if it fell into a representation of itself as that which it, at least in theory, opposed. Not only would the use of old titles

indicate and overtly condone old ways, but it would suggest further subordination to the state, upon which the Bauhaus was dependent for funds. (Traditionally members of the governmental bureaucracies, German professors were state officials,[50] and the same held true for teachers in the Bauhaus, appointments requiring agreement by the Minister of the Interior; this continuation of the old structure might be glossed over, to some extent, through the use of new titles.) Most important for Schreyer, in opposing the contention that the use of old titles would soothe antagonists of the Bauhaus and would garner for the teachers the rights and privileges traditionally accorded professors in Germany—those rights and privileges that the Bauhaus claimed to reject in its democratic egalitarianism—was the adverse effect that this reversion to academic procedure would have upon the youths in the Bauhaus, with their high ideals and honest belief in the possible results of interaction with their teachers. Was this an example of ethics as practiced in the Bauhaus? and was this merely a question of personal taste, or was it a matter of concern to the Bauhaus as a community?[51] If this question was merely one of individual preference, there would have been little basis for discussion. But for the individual who has involved himself in an effort to realize an idea, an effort that was dependent for its success upon group cooperation, what is inimical to that idea becomes a consideration that transcends individuality.

In fact, Schreyer's opting for the titles in use in the Bauhaus, although support for something new, still meant acceptance of the German reverence for titles. Whether old or new, titles meant a categorizing of the individual holding them, a defining of his role and a limiting of his freedom. Necessary for the preservation of the traditional social system, indicative of expectations and responses, any titles and categories at all were contrary to the idea of community based upon humanity. Thus, Oskar Schlemmer, drawing the logical conclusion and adding characteristic emphasis as he was to do in devising his publicity statement for the 1923 Summer Exhibit,[52] noted the possibility of "world fame" for the Bauhaus in propagandizing internationally for the abandonment of *all* titles.[53] Lyonel Feininger also opposed the use of any titles, while Johannes Itten asserted that "either we reject *every title* . . ., and begin the suggested . . . international 'Anti-title War,' " or the title "professor" be reinstated.[54] On the other side, Paul Klee and Georg Muche favored the use of the "professor" title, the latter referring to it as a "profitable convention." Seeking to benefit from the significance of titles in the traditional sense, Muche felt it propitious to surrender whatever principles might lie behind the opposition to titles, if their use would in fact mean surrendering those principles. For those in the Bauhaus, no title would add anything of real significance to the individual holding it, in so far as qualities of character were concerned; but it might reestablish the barrier between student and teacher. The use of titles could result in the Bauhaus's being considered as just another academy, adding

fuel to the battle of the citizens of Weimar for a reestablishment of the old academy. As Kandinsky pointed out, the real concern was not with titles themselves, but with the regard given titles.[55] It was not how the members of the Bauhaus considered the question, but rather how it would be seen from without: old forms would be given old content, regardless of the intention behind their use, which is what would make them "profitable." Perhaps the only valid solution, which would concur with the social aims of the Bauhaus, would have been the extreme one of discarding all titles, thereby eliminating the possibility of ambiguity in the content given whatever form were chosen.

At an earlier date, in May and June, 1920, there was an interesting exchange of letters and postcards between Johannes Baader and Gropius, as the former sought unsuccessfully to obtain permission for himself and Raoul Hausmann to participate, in any capacity, in the Bauhaus. In Baader's first letter to Gropius, mention was made of the question of titles: "Hausmann will certainly decline a professorship; I would also do the same, because a Professor Oberdada is even more impossible [*sic*] than a Professor Dadasoph. *But why must one continue on with such old title stories?*"[56] As Gropius understood, to do away with titles would not have been detrimental for the Bauhaus, although certain individual privileges might have been lost; to use titles, in themselves insignificant, might undercut some of the aims of the school. Without a concerted effort to specify a precise content for the titles, which agreed with the intentions of the Bauhaus, its program might be made more difficult to realize. But, adhering to the respect for individuality, the decision was made to allow each Form Master to select any title he wished.[57] New problems were not created within the Bauhaus community by this decision, but neither was the integration of the community enhanced by the course of action decided upon.

Not involved with any practical question of titles, the Dadaists made apparent their views on this German tradition by selecting titles for themselves. "Dadasoph," "Propagandada," "Pipidada," and the like were the Dadaist counterpart to Germany's obsession with titles.[58] Richard Huelsenbeck, in his novel *Doctor* [*sic*] *Billig am Ende* (1921), suggests that the protagonist's antipathy to being addressed as "Herr Doktor" bespoke a certain degree of intelligence. Doctor Billig noted that the landlady and the beggar used the socially condoned titles out of calculation, hoping to benefit from the flattery implied in social propriety; officials used them out of stupidity, for they would be utterly lost without them; people in general used them out of indifference: told to use the titles, they did so, for such was tradition.[59]

In the Bauhaus, there had been the chance to break away from the use of titles, to break away from a tradition that made the individual faceless: respect was accorded a man's title, rather than the man himself, regardless of how much or how little respect he deserved as a man. Acceptance of the use of

titles was another indication of the failing attempt to realize the community of the Bauhaus as it had been idealized. Allowing individual choice was not a departure, but in this instance the question was one of a resurrection or continuation of the past in a superficial way, rather than of creative individuality. It also meant reviving a symbolic manifestation of the old social structure, indicating a still very real problem of completing the break with old concepts and values, even among the progressive Form Masters. By not rejecting the use of titles, the Bauhaus tacitly accepted a social convention to which it was basically opposed, leaving this unchallenged as one further barrier to the creation of a new man for a new Germany.

Any analogy drawn between art and life is limited: when they are merged, one or the other disappears, as did the Frenchman Alfred Jarry into his creation Ubu Roi. From the artist's point of view, an art work when completed is at that moment analogous to life at any given moment, both comprising what has preceded the moment, with the work of art a capturing of that moment symbolically expressed or represented. Both have their roots in living men. Although an artist such as Klee might draw what man could be, he did not do so to establish an ideal for men to follow: if the ideal had real roots, human roots, it would change as man changed. Thus, neither the Form Masters in the Bauhaus nor the Dadaists could develop a model for man beyond the means that they thought would prove most fruitful for man in his self-development. Throughout ran an emphasis, as one might expect from the nature of the artist and the intellectual, upon independent formation of the individual by the individual, although for many the distance between the open and the closed mind was short and might be readily traversed. There was no intransigent opposition to an individual's use of models or patterns for his own self-formation, but there was a very definite hostility to the imposition of guidelines, ends, and values, and to a forced creation of the new man. The new man, devoted to responsible freedom, was seen as a possibility, and necessary if a new world were to be created. Apparently convinced that they were among the breed of new men, and enamored of the idea of a constructive unity in which all men might share, the artist-intellectuals hardly touched upon the differences that existed between themselves and other men. The means of which they spoke were not geared to other men, and practical application, if it involved politics, was repugnant for most of these unwittingly self-nominated candidates for sainthood in idealism.

NOTES

[1] See the interesting discussion in Alfred von Martin, *Der heroische Nihilismus und seine Überwindung: Ernst Jüngers Weg durch die Krise* (Krefeld, 1948), Chapter II: "Wiedergeburt aus Natur und Gesellschaft," pp. 43-76.

[2] Lothar Schreyer, "Der neue Mensch," *Der Sturm,* X, ii (May, 1919), 18.

[3] Among some artist-intellectuals, and going back to before the war, there did exist the idea that a transformation in environment, in great part the result of a change in architecture, held the key to a transformation of man; there was no consideration of whether untransformed man would accept such architecture that was the product of the "transformed" or "basically different" architect: see, for example, Paul Scheerbart, *Glasarchitektur* (Berlin, 1914), pp. 11 and 29, and Adolf Behne, *Wiederkehr der Kunst,* pp. 64-67; see Gotshalk's consideration of the influence exerted by architecture because of its close association with the needs of people: *Art and Social Order,* p. 243.

[4] See, for example, Paulsen, *Expressionismus und Aktivismus,* p. 40.

[5] Though lacking in sophisticated terminology, concerned with human beings rather than theories, and lacking in knowledge of developments in psychology, the artist-intellectuals' ideas are resembled in many respects by the "Contemporary Eupsychias" discussed by Frank E. Manuel in "Toward a Psychological History of Utopia," *Daedalus,* Vol. 94, No. 2 (Spring, 1965), 310-319.

[6] For example, see Albert Soergel and Curt Hohoff, *Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit: Vom Naturalismus bis zur Gegenwart* (Düsseldorf, 1963), II, 219-222; also Sokel, *Writer in Extremis,* pp. 173-174.

[7] See Georg Biermann, "Kunstwende: Die neue Kunst als soziologisch-psychologisches Problem," *Der Cicerone,* XIII, xvii (1921), 468.

[8] For example, Hermann Böschenstein, *Der neue Mensch: Die Biographie im deutschen Nachkriegsroman* (Heidelberg, 1958), pp. 37-56, especially pp. 37 and 43; with reference to "two souls," see above, pp. 3-4, 58-59.

[9] See Sontheimer, *Antidemokratisches Denken,* p. 31 and n. 21; Hitler acknowledged the creation of a "new man" as a basic, if not the most important, concern of the National Socialist Party: Joachim C. Fest, *Das Gesicht des Dritten Reiches: Profile einer totalitären Herrschaft* (Munich, 1963), pp. 369, 393; also see Rauschning, *Gespräche mit Hitler,* p. 232; and Siebarth, *Hitlers Wollen,* for example, p. 147, as used in a speech given in Munich, April 24, 1923.

[10] Compare with the characterization of Volkish ideology in Mosse, *Crisis of German Ideology,* pp. 21-22, 187; although they opposed the conceptions held by supporters of the Right in Germany, the left-oriented artist-intellectuals were not bound to the Left: see, for example, Soergel and Hohoff, *Dichtung und Dichter,* pp. 221-222: "The close association of poets, actors, and directors with the political left disintegrated as the artists increasingly recognized that their 'new man' had little to do with revolutionary practice in Russia and Germany."

[11] See above, pp. 49-50; this existential concept is by some traced back to Aristotle: see, for example, Gerald F. Else, *Aristotle's Poetics: The Argument* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1957), p. 70: ". . . the fundamental principle of Aristotle's theory of character development is that *we become what we do,* that our acts harden into character,"

quoted in Norman Rudich, "The Dialectics of Poesis: Literature as a Mode of Cognition," in *Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science, II: In Honor of Philipp Frank*, ed. Robert S. Cohen and Marx W. Wartofsky (New York, 1965), p. 355.

12 For example, Kessler, *Tagebücher*, p. 217 (March 30, 1920); Troeltsch, *Spektator-Briefe*, p. 232 ("Die neue Katastrophe und die Stellung des Bürgertums zur Republik," November 9, 1921); Walther Rilla, "Der neue Mensch," *Die Erde*, I, i (January 1, 1919), 9-14, especially p. 13.

13 Crane Brinton, "Utopia and Democracy," *Daedalus*, Vol. 94, No. 2 (Spring, 1965), 362.

14 Wedderkop, "Dadaismus" (1921), p. 223.

15 For example, see Raoul Hausmann, "Menschen-Leben-Erleben," *Menschen*, I, x (December 15, 1918), [2].

16 Felix Klee, *Paul Klee*, p. 142, from the diary of Klee, No. 952, 1914.

17 Felix Klee, ed., *The Diaries of Paul Klee, 1898-1918*, trans. P. B. Schneider, R.Y. Zachary, and M. Knight (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964), p. 119, Nos. 411-412, entry of March 6, 1902.

18 And perhaps, in fact, the individual significance of Klee's work was (is) only tenuous: see above, p. 62. In writing of Franz Marc, after the latter's death during the war, Klee drew a comparison with himself: "He is more human, he loves more warmly . . . the bond with the earth takes precedence over the bond with the universe . . . . Forever questioning . . . . But lacking the calm assurance of faith. . . . The changing times oppressed him, he wanted men to change with them. But he himself was still a human being and there was a remnant of inner conflict that bound him . . . . I often anxiously surmised . . . that he would not come back [after the war] in order to rouse the world to some grand vision, but entirely from a human impulse . . . . He was still a real member of the human race, not a neutral creature. I recall his smile when my eye overlooked some elements of earth" (Felix Klee, *Diaries of Klee*, pp. 343-344, No. 1008, Munich, 1916).

19 See Huelsenbeck, *En avant Dada*, p. 3; also see Leszek Kolakowski, "Das schōne Gesicht," in *Der Himmelsschlüssel: Erbauliche Geschichten*, trans. W. Bronska-Pampuch and M. Dutsch (Munich, 1965), pp. 136-143.

20 Walter Mehring, "IHR: Bananenesser und Kajakleute!," *Der Dada*, No. 3 [1920], p. [13].

21 Kandinsky, "Und: Einiges uber Synthetische Kunst" (1927), p. 10, n. 6; also see, for example, Gropius, "Bauhaus. Ende des 'Kunstgewerbes' . . . (1924)": "The redawning *awareness of the interrelatedness of all things and appearances* has strengthened the will to transformation on the basis of a unified view of life" (p. 12) and "the foundation, the human, is more important than the . . . specialization" (pp. 14-15); see above, pp. 56, 58-59.

22 ". . . the work of man is the expansion of his own experience, the full unfolding of his will, his I and You . . . the conquest of his own regularity, the dissolution of [restrictive] bonds . . .": Raoul Hausmann, "Schnitt durch die Zeit," *Die Erde*, I, xviii/xix (October 1, 1919), 547.

23 Walter Gropius to the Student Committee, Charlottenburg (Technische Hochschule),

July 15, 1919, 3 pp. (typewritten carbon copy), STAW, St. B'haus temp. Nos. 114-115.

24 Melchior Vischer, *Sekunde durch Hirn: Ein unheimlich schnell rotierender Roman* (Hannover, 1920), p. 33.

25 See Richard Huelsenbeck, "Claperston dies of Fish Poisoning," Appendix A, pp. 194-195; also Huelsenbeck, "Der neue Mensch," in Huelsenbeck, *Dada*, pp. 61, 63 (first published in the *Neue Jugend*, Wochenausgabe, No. 1 [May 23, 1917], pp. 3-4).

26 Huelsenbeck, "Der neue Mensch," in Huelsenbeck, *Dada*, p. 60; Raoul Hausmann, "Der Mensch ergreift Besitz von sich," in Pfemfert, *Aktionsbuch*, p. 171; Lyonel Feininger and Adolf Knoblauch, "Zwiesprache," *Der Sturm*, VIII, vi (September, 1917), 82.

27 Richard Huelsenbeck, "Wozu war Dada da? Ein Rückblick auf eine nun schon historisch gewordene Bewegung. Wozu war sie nötig? Was ist übriggeblieben? Was hat der Dadaismus geleistet?," *Ubu*, III, v (February, 1927), 92.

28 Thus was the problem posed by Hausmann in "Der Mensch ergreift Besitz von sich," in Pfemfert, *Aktionsbuch*, p. 172; in agreement with Hausmann, and opposed to the Expressionist assertion that man *was* good (had he yet shown that he was?), George Grosz stated that "man is not good—but a beast! Men have created an abject system—an above and a below *(ein Oben und ein Unten)*" (essay in Galerie von Garvens, Hannover, *George Grosz*, XV. Ausstellung/ April, 1922, p. [3]).

29 Raoul Hausmann, "Kabarett zum Menschen," *Schall und Rauch*, No. 3 (February, 1920), p. 2.

30 See, for example, Kollman, "Eine Diagnose der Weimarer Republik" (1956), p. 306, and [Ernst] Troeltsch, "Die innere Entwickelung der deutschen Revolution," *Kunstwart und Kulturwart*, XXXIV, iii (December, 1920), 166-171.

31 See, for example, Hendrik de Man, *Die Intellektuellen und der Sozialismus* (Jena, 1926), pp. 19-20.

32 For example, Comfort, *Revolutionary Hamburg*, p. 166.

33 According to Wieland Herzfelde, the task of artists and intellectuals in the class struggle was to attack the exploiters, and through their actions they might secure the right to fight side by side with the worker: this was not a right that they could claim for themselves (*Gesellschaft, Künstler und Kommunismus*, pp. 12, 15); Grosz, very much influenced by his friendship with Herzfelde, in the early 'twenties criticized those artists who, suddenly, in November, 1918, found their hearts on the side of the workers, opportunism showing through their sincerity (Grosz and Herzfelde, *Kunst ist in Gefahr*, pp. 29-30).

34 Raoul Hausmann, "Kunst und Zeit," *NG*, No. 1 (May, 1921), pp. 3-5, reprinted in Schmidt, *Manifeste*, pp. 185-189.

35 This reality may have seemed even more grim, were the Dadaists at the early date aware that the "bourgeois youth [with its emphasis upon national concerns] was lost to the Weimar Republic even before the Republic got started" (Mosse, *Crisis of German Ideology*, p. 193).

36 "Open Letter to the November Group," *Der Gegner*, II, viii/ix (1920-21), 300-301,

and also see pp. 297-298.

37 See, for example, Angress, *Stillborn Revolution*, p. 345.

38 For example, Herzfelde, *John Heartfield*, p. 23.

39 Grosz, *Ein kleines Ja*, p. 176; for a discussion of an analogous situation in France, see Robert Short, "The Politics of Surrealism, 1920-36," *Journal of Contemporary History*, I, ii (1966), 13-14: the Surrealists, of bourgeois backgrounds, aimed their barbs at the middle class, victim-to-be of the revolution for which the Surrealists were hopefully preparing; neither Surrealist nor Dadaist could realistically hope to affect the proletariat directly.

40 Theo van Doesburg, Kurt Schwitters, Hans Arp, Tristan Tzara, Chr[istof] Spengemann, "Manifest Proletkunst," *Merz*, No. 2 (April, 1923), 24-25.

41 See A[natole] Lunacharsky, Commissioner of Nations in the Soviet Union, "Proletarische Kultur," in Rubiner, *Gemeinschaft*, pp. 263-274.

42 ". . . socialism is not an affair of the workers, it is not an affair of the intellectuals, it is an affair of humanity": Man, *Intellektuellen und Sozialismus*, p. 35; also see the letter from Oskar Schlemmer to Joseph Goebbels, April 25, 1933, in Akademie der Künste, *Oskar Schlemmer*, p. 6.

43 George Grosz, "Kaffeehaus," in *Gedichte und Gesänge [1916-1917]* (Litomyšl, 1932), no pagination, and "Gesang an die Welt," *1918—Neue Blätter*, p. 154.

44 George Grosz to Robert Bell, n.d. [1916-1917 (?)], p. 3, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, GG No. 29.

45 J[ohannes] A. Baader, "Die Hexenküche Dada: Zum zehnten Jahrestag ihrer Eröffnung (17. März 1916)," *Der Kreis*, III, iv (April, 1926), 180.

46 See, for example, Richard Huelsenbeck, *Aztecken oder die Knallbude: Eine militärische Novelle* (Berlin, 1918), p. 47.

47 Lyonel Feininger and Adolf Knoblauch, "Zwiesprache," *Der Sturm*, VIII, vi (September, 1917), 82, 86.

48 Oskar Schlemmer, "Man and Art Figure," in Gropius, *Theater of the Bauhaus*, p. 32; one of Schlemmer's wall reliefs, now destroyed, depicted the head and torso of a youth between the letters "alpha" and "omega," man as the beginning and the end, man as the measure of all things (Hans Hildebrandt, ed., *Oskar Schlemmer* [Munich, 1952], p. 21).

49 Circular from Walter Gropius to the Masters' Council, April 21, 1922, 1 p. (typewritten original), STAW, St. B'haus temp Nos. 187-188.

50 See F[riedrich] Paulsen, *Wesen und geschichtliche Entwickelung der deutschen Universitäten*, Sonderabdruck aus dem Werke *Die deutschen Universitäten* (Berlin, 1902), p. 45.

51 Lothar Schreyer, "[Answer to Gropius's Circular]," [April, 1922 (?)], 3 pp. (typewritten original), STAW, St. B'haus temp. Nos. 187-188.

52 See above, p. 64.

[53] Oskar Schlemmer, "Rundschreiben an die Formmeister Professorentitel betreffend," April 21, 1922, 1 p. (handwritten), STAW, St. B'haus temp. Nos. 187-188; later Schlemmer suggested using the title "Magister" as "sounding nice" and being "more medieval and distinct from the 'ordinary' Masters. . . . In all seriousness!" (September 11, 1922, 1 p. [handwritten], STAW, ibid.).

[54] "Anliegend *Antwort* der Meister auf Rundschreiben: Professorentitel betreffend. . . ." April 25, 1922 (handwritten), STAW, St. B'haus temp. Nos. 187-188.

[55] Wassily Kandinsky, "[Observations]," September, 1922, p. [2] (handwritten), STAW, St. B'haus temp. Nos. 187-188.

[56] See STAW, St. B'haus temp. Nos. 122-124.

[57] Protokoll der Meisterratsitzung, October 2, 1922, p. [4], STAW, St. B'haus temp. No. 184.

[58] See above, p. 43.

[59] Richard Huelsenbeck, *Doctor Billig am Ende* (Munich, 1921), p. 6.

CHAPTER VII

THE POLITICS OF LIFE

Their views of man and society as reality and as potential, involving values and ideals, formed the roots for the germinal world-views of Dadaists and Bauhaus Form Masters. As the specificity of the study of Dada and the Bauhaus, especially in terms of politics and economics, is increased, there is also a step-up in unreality vis-à-vis practical affairs in the world, since the artist-intellectuals rarely went beyond vague generalities concerning man and his total life situation. A high degree of distaste for the worlds of political and economic practice hinged upon acknowledgment of the fact that successful politics traditionally required the compromising of one's ideals. Such has been perhaps most emphatically the case in Germany, where ideals were relegated to a sphere all their own, as contrasted with France, England, and the United States, where the pretense of maintaining ideals is considered a virtue. Martin Luther backhandedly initiated the subordination of Christian ethics to politics when he spoke of a necessary duality of the two spheres; his argument was modernized by Friedrich Meinecke in the latter's *The Idea of Reason of State in Modern History.*[1] Resignation in the face of an apparent irreconcilability of the real and the ideal was a resignation before the fact. Any hope of realizing the ideal was therefore considered absurdly utopian, not even worthy of mature reflection in terms of a dubious possibility. This historically and culturally determined dualistic way of thought had also to be transformed, were any other major changes to persist. With intense idealism as their support, the political participation of artist-intellectuals was determined by individual interests in political affairs and the perceived relevance of political action to their lives. Allowed freedom for his artistic endeavors, the artist-intellectual might well be expected to refrain from all political involvement, during most periods of history. Were this not the case, and were his abilities subordinated to socio-political ends in a relatively consistent manner, regardless of the reasons for it, his art would become a means of dealing with immediate and practical as opposed to transcendent, metaphysical, and human problems.

Intimately involved in a consideration of the artist-intellectual and politics are the problems of the artist as an observer of society and the artist as a communicant, problems that have already been touched upon.[2] In presenting statements of a political nature, the artist comes closest to compromising himself as an artist in the eyes of the critics, the traditional link to the public, and other artists. To convey his perceptions, the artist, influenced as is everyone by his education and participation or non-participation, and the reasons for either, in a specific reference group, must employ terms understand-

able, or made understandable, to other groups and individuals. If he will communicate, his private world must be transformed into a public one.[3] Concentrating upon satire, men like George Grosz and Walter Mehring had little need to compromise, and were able to have a much more pointed effect than a man such as Paul Klee, whose own vocabulary and irony are most understandable to others, if they are able to extricate themselves from their restrictively delineated time-space continua.[4] Whatever the situation for the artist-intellectual as an individual, it may be significantly modified by the socio-political circumstances in which he finds himself, and especially so in periods of stress and flux such as followed World War I. In similar situations, with the possibility of assuring an enduring freedom of creativity, the concern of the artist-intellectual might understandably result in an exchange of his passive acceptance of a situation entailing relative, and perhaps only temporary, freedom for an active quest to secure that freedom for the future also. Thus, the creative artist-intellectual, who asserts himself on behalf of freedom with each of his works, would be committing himself in social terms to opposing any restrictions imposed upon freedom of expression.[5] Because the greatest freedom demands the maintenance of a situation without, or with a minimum, of restrictive bonds, there is no positive effort in a socio-political sense to which the artist-intellectual would or could be committed to the same degree as is his commitment to self-realization as an artist (unless, as suggested above, his art is satirical and, like that of Grosz or Mehring, directly oriented and inextricably bound to socio-political concerns). Opposition becomes a function of the necessity for self-realization as an artist. Yet, at the same time, the artist-intellectual may develop a concern with social and economic injustices calling forth a human response to a discriminatory and restrictive reality that is essentially unrelated to his work. If primary concern is with freedom, the result may only be opposition to what is seen as restrictive, rather than dedication to any positive program; employing one's art to assert opposition then becomes a necessary step in the quest to achieve a situation wherein such opposition would be no longer necessary. That situation would be one in which social, political, economic, and general cultural realities would not be irresponsibly restrictive and would not result in psychological characteristics contradictory to the basic nature of man, except as such might be essential to the overcoming of intra-specific aggression. Thus, basic changes, including those of a political nature which are not sought in an isolated sense nor merely for the possibilities they may open, were tied in with an underlying psychological revolution.

In the quest for political change, there was a distinct possibility that the artist-intellectuals might exert an influence. The degree of influence depended in great part upon the effectiveness of their critical position vis-à-vis political reality. Although the artist-intellectual as such carries no other-directed ethical responsibility for the development of something new, he is responsible

for all that he does, and perhaps, although then to a lesser degree, for all that upon which his work impinges.[6] If his actions as such, and not merely as the interpretations or misinterpretations of those actions, contributed to continued instability in the Weimar Republic, then instability and its results rest to some extent upon his shoulders. Although nonparticipation in affairs of a socio-political nature might seem to exonerate him of a share in the responsibility for social and political developments, it would at the same time deny the artist-intellectual's desire and efforts to participate in society as artist *and* human being. If his creative activities were rooted in a total approach to life, then his most meaningful participation in society was through his art, and in terms of specifics his participation was only indirect. His direction for action comes from the individual's world-view, based upon the goals and/or, more importantly, the values that he has accepted, when the world-view is more than an ideal, utopian construct unrelated to the real world.[7] Involvement was intended by the Dadaists to be of a total nature, subordinating politics to, rather than separating it from, more general concerns. For the members of the Bauhaus, there were social and political actions to be taken with reference to internal and external problems that confronted the school, actions that involved school policy independent of artistic creativity, although not independent of the artist. The Form Master in the Bauhaus was artist and teacher, and in the role of the latter was necessarily involved in some questions ostensibly having little to do with art, though of grave importance to the artist's life circumstances.

Drawing upon the available materials, it is possible to present a limited picture of Dada and Bauhaus attitudes towards the political situation in Germany. Emphasis is on their views of Communism and democracy, which were of major interest to the progressive artist-intellectuals seeking to participate in social and political construction. No programmatic group view can be presented, but there are points upon the basis of which one can infer or, with some justification, assume general agreement. In avoiding commitment to, though not necessarily sympathy with, political parties, the artist-intellectuals avoided the need to compromise on certain points that would have been necessary to party membership and active participation.[8] Acting first and foremost as individuals, and attempting to act only through the realm with which they had greatest familiarity, the artist-intellectuals took their stand in favor of individualism and life as preceding, although not necessarily contradictory to, politics. Such was the case for the Dadaists, and for the Bauhaus in theory, except for a stated rejection of politics.

The artist-intellectuals of the Bauhaus and among the Dadaists claimed no special competence in judging political and economic matters. Their critical involvement was rooted primarily in a very active concern for social justice, considered with socialism in relation to man as human being, and not as contingent upon reciprocal services exchanged between individual and state. Thus,

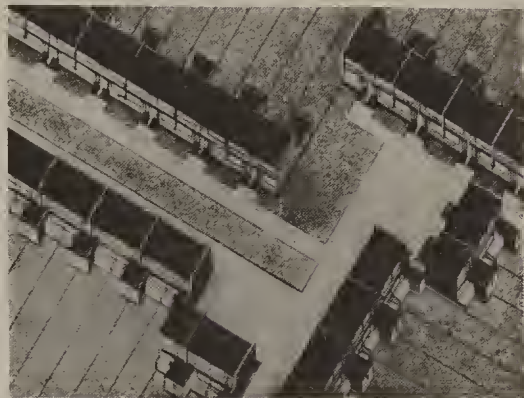
Johannes Itten and Lyonel Feininger spoke of state support for artists not in exchange for artistic support of the state, but because artists were human beings.[9] Advocacy of social justice was taken to imply Communism; since only Communists were presenting programs apparently pertinent to the problems in the area of social justice, similarly concerned artist-intellectuals sympathized with them, many falling victim to being labeled Communist by association. Some, to be sure, were Party members, but many more were not. Thus, in part, George Grosz was considered a Communist because his active concern for economic and social justice resulted in a condemnation of capitalism and a proclamation of revenge for the worker.[10] A similar concern for man among members of the Bauhaus raised the spectre of Communism for the inhabitants of Weimar. In 1921 and 1922, many teachers and students responded to calls from the commission for "Artist's Aid for the Starving in Russia," and "The International Workers' Aid . . ., *the* proletarian world aid organization," to participate in art exhibits and sales aimed at raising funds for fifty emergency public kitchens to help cope with the famine that had followed the civil war in Russia.[11] Organizer of the "International Workers' Aid" was Willy Münzenberg, a Communist press magnate who owned the new German Publishing House in Berlin. Münzenberg asserted the necessity for discarding the use of dogmatic language and ill-considered techniques, if sympathetic individuals were to be attracted to Communism; attraction would be through the causes advocated by the Party, through its concern with social justice rather than its political and economic theorizing.[12] It was here that charges of Communism could be pinpointed, charges based not upon the intentions of the individuals participating in the above indicated efforts, but upon the fact that the organization involved was Communist.

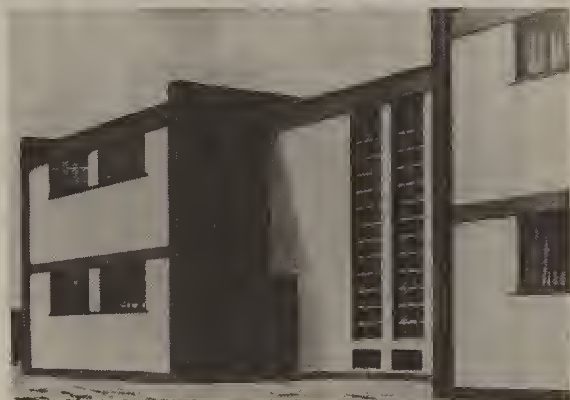
In an even more general sense, with reference to the Bauhaus, it could have been inferred from Gropius's plan for mass-produced housing that he was a Communist, or Communist-oriented. A basic concept behind the plans, which called for the prefabrication of parts that could theoretically be put together in an enormous variety of ways,[13] was increased socio-economic benefits for people in low-income brackets who might wish to possess their own homes. Although in execution such a plan might result in circumscription of individuality, the benefits would compensate for the disadvantages. And why should this not be the case, in exchange for all that the members of the proletariat had in fact done for society? As Raoul Hausmann sarcastically noted, the proletariat had maintained an exemplary Christian-Social attitude, allowing themselves to be exploited for the good of state and community; they worked in order that others might live, cleaned streets and cesspools, and also were thankful for having been allowed to starve and to perish in war.[14]

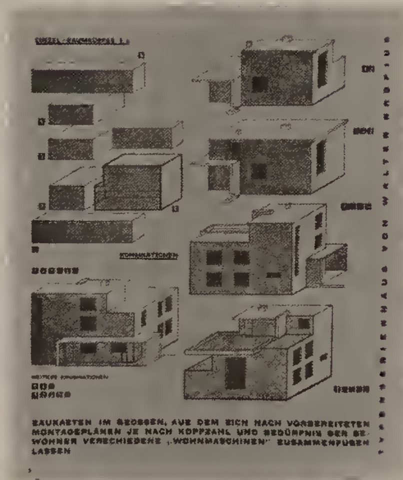
By no means programmatic in their criticism, both the Dadaists and members of the Bauhaus challenged the capitalist economic system. What they

Illustration 7: Walter Gropius

Far right: Model for Prefabricated Houses, to be mass produced.
Upper left: Bauhaus Settlement, built in Dessau-Törten (from the title page of a prospectus).
Lower left: Buildings of a Housing Section, Dessau-Törten (1927).







openly or implicitly criticized was not capitalism *per se*, but the apparent effects of capitalism in society. Subsequent support for the Communists, when at all, was primarily a matter of default on the part of a Socialist Party that had shunned its chosen task. Grosz noted his adherence to the theory of socialism, but certainly not the reality, as embodied in a Socialist Party that, in voting for war credits in 1914, had denied its own heritage and drawn its own teeth; it had retreated from a broad consideration of handling the trying problem of social reform on a participatory basis rather than in the traditional, paternalistic way.[15] Revisionism and what he observed as the emasculation of socialist theory might have been one justification for Grosz's drawing, "A Son of the People," with its fat, smug-looking, cigar-smoking bourgeois individual, very much resembling Friedrich Ebert, then President of the Weimar Republic, and in the background a portrait of Karl Kautsky.[16] Human beliefs, not political beliefs, were dominant for the artist-intellectuals. Criticism, rather than suggestions of means to rectification, dominated the Dadaist views, while the positive stand taken in the Bauhaus was in the most general of terms: both bases for departure were rooted in a general view of man. At no point did either of these groups, as opposed to individuals within the groups, make any efforts comparable in scale to those undertaken by the Work-Council for Art and the November Group, involving a direct approach to the public and an effort to educate them to art and the meaning of art, in the broadest sense. Temporary withdrawal from active involvement in society by the Bauhaus was in order to develop a program, and seems also to have defended the school and its members from an early defeat of fervent hopes that might not be translatable into reality. The Dadaists with their constant criticism and devotion to a form of freedom essentially disconnected from traditional views of socio-political realities, denied to themselves the possibility for taking positive action. Both the Dadaists and the Bauhaus established models for society, but neither was able to create the necessary link with society. Time was at a premium, and those aware of necessary actions did not take advantage of the crucial period during which a vital transformation of society and politics might have been initiated, or new and vitalizing elements might have been introduced. The gap between the conception and the reality remained, a frustration for both Dadaists and members of the Bauhaus, and a pitfall for the Republic.

In spite of any special competency, such as the Dadaist Franz Jung might have claimed as a result of his law studies and reporting on economic activities in Berlin, or Wassily Kandinsky of the Bauhaus might have claimed as a result of his studies in economics, the artist-intellectuals in general based their critical or pseudo-critical comments upon human proclivities, rather than intellectual capabilities. It was in this sense that they regarded the example set by Franz Marc, a leading representative of humanitarianism among German artists. In a letter written by Marc, one is again vividly confronted with the agonizing

position of the artist-intellectual who was committed to the cause of "abstract" humanity and refused to relinquish any aspect of his ideal. ". . . I am a socialist from my deepest soul, with my entire being—but not a practical socialist . . . . The time of the world war is no more evil than any time of the deepest peace; the most beautiful peace was *always* only a latent war; but the *individual* can free himself and help others to do the same—that is the sense of personal Christianity and Buddhism and of all art. . . ."[17] Their attitudes made it necessary for men like Marc and Grosz to limit their socialism to the ideal, intellectual realm, and suffer a degradation of the possible by the real. With their artistic work, however, they challenged such results.

For both Franz Marc and George Grosz, among the Dadaists in general, and among many of the Form Masters of the Bauhaus, there was at least some concern with the effect, in a total sense, that their art might have upon individuals viewing it.[18] In their efforts, the Dadaists acknowledged an overt but temporary subordination of art to socio-political ends; they denied a concern with art so as not to degrade its ideal nature.[19] One of their hopes was to enable art's ideal nature to become real for man. In the Dadaist Manifesto of 1918 it was stated that "the best and most unprecedented artists will be those who every hour snatch the tatters of their bodies out of the frenzied cataract of life, [artists] who, with bleeding hands and hearts, hold fast to the intelligence of their time."[20] The Dadaists disavowed the Isms of art, pretentious art, and pretentious artists, and clamored for the rejection of artificialities and superficialities that would be necessary before one could grasp what was significant in the age, what transcended the age, while stemming from it. Yet in doing battle with the Expressionists, the Dadaists themselves remained above the "cataract of life" and pursued their clash on an intellectual plane in the realm of ephemeral idealism.[21] Neither came entirely to grips with the socio-political problems of the day, but played these out in a detached, symbolic way.

In contrast, the art of the painters in the Bauhaus was involved with personal philosophies in a total sense. For them, concern with society and its values was outside the sphere of art itself. Thus, their art techniques were more traditional and could, to some extent, be taught, as opposed to effective satirical art, which combines a nexus of intellectual and visceral responses to reality with formal abilities (in the Bauhaus, Paul Klee could teach techniques, and indicate his perspective on the world, but he could hardly teach the totality of his ironical art). In their art, the Bauhaus painters involved themselves with ultimate human values, in as much possible agreement with the school's program aimed at translating those values into educational realities. The intention of the program, similar to the core concern for the Dadaists, was to educate the individual to responsible participation in society, through an ability to grasp the totality of life and to act within a total human context. Aware of the artist-intellectuals' views on specific aspects of German culture and society, some of the difficulties

for them in dealing with those problems and, especially, in educating others to do so in the light of a responsible consideration of the socio-political situation become apparent. At any rate, they advanced their criticisms and views concerning revolution and construction in the candidly honest belief that these views were most telling and presented the best possibilities for Germany and the Germans; the ideal and the real were hardly to be disentangled. Covert optimism, in contrast to vociferously overt pessimism, underlay the Dadaists' concern with reality, as they devoted efforts to transforming the ideal into the real. In contrast, the more singularly idealistic views of the members of the Bauhaus, especially before Hannes Meyer succeeded Gropius as director in Dessau, suggest a contradiction with the educational goal of developing means for the translation of the ideal into effective social terms.

Within both groups, there was some awareness of incoherencies in ideas and of an apparent insolubility of the problem of bridging the gap between themselves and society, and between the ideal and the real. Given the nature of the situation, lacking a psychological revolution, with neither a sense of community nor a devotion to humanity, the German people could hardly be left to their own devices. There was a general belief that a strong and creative politically-oriented individual (or group),[22] unhesitating in direction and unafraid of mistakes, could compensate for these deficiencies by grasping the key power role and imposing a direction upon the course of events.[23] Idealism tempered by realism and the frustration of ineffectuality led to an ambivalent admiration among artist-intellectuals for holders of power, while at the same time they rejected the fact of power on an ethical and moral basis.[24] In his memoirs, George Grosz indicates the fascination with which he and artist-intellectuals in general looked upon the man of power, who possessed the potential necessary for the transformation of ideals into reality.[25] The artists and the intellectuals might have the visions, but it was the man of power and politically effective action who could give objective meaning to those visions. At the same time, there was a recognition that power might be abused, put to personal use or to a use opposed to that thought proper by the artist-intellectuals; this gave rise to ambivalence and criticism before the fact of misused power, in the hope that such would be precluded. Their precautionary role was felt to be essential until the Germans were educated to their new political responsibilities. Thus came attacks upon politicians for precisely what the artist-intellectuals were consciously hesitant or unable to do, and what they saw as the task of the politician or leader: the modification of ideal programs in an effort to make them to some degree realizable, a modification that transformed those ideals into ones apparently other than those to which the artist-intellectuals professed their allegiance.

Towards the end of the war and before the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, there was some praise for the program set forth by the American President Woodrow Wilson.[26] Here was a man with power attempting to trans-

late ideals into reality without compromises; combining power and ideals, he suggested an effective father figure, acceptable because his ideals were acceptable. Wilson's program seemed to hold hope for defeated Germany and her transformation into a participant in a community of peoples founded upon humanistic values; his lack of success compounded disappointment that was already in evidence, and it spread among those concerned with construction in a democratic and republican vein.[27] In a play by Walter Mehring, "Woodrow Apollon" (Wilson) fails to appear at the trial for subversion of Orest, commander of the Attic Free Corps, with the result that Orest takes the initiative and leads his troops off to the Baltic, followed by the Supreme Court of Justice.[28] The representative of ideals failed to act, and the man who did act proved victorious. The importance of Wilson and his plans lay in the subjective interpretation of his postulates and their relationship to the situation in which the Germans understood themselves to be. Wilson failed in his effort to carry through on his ideals in the face of political realities, and was criticized for not using effectively all the power it was assumed that he had. At the same time, the new President of the German Empire, Friedrich Ebert, and his Prime Minister, Philipp Scheidemann, were being criticized for acting as politicians in an effort to translate some of the goals of the Socialist Party into effective reality. Huelsenbeck questioned whether Ebert and Scheidemann were the correct men to lead the course of revolutionary transformation; they lacked original thoughts, were in fact incapable of acting effectively, and were entirely unpolitical: the people were being deceived by "gifted beer-bellies."[29] More pointedly, Hausmann derogated the Ebert-Scheidemann complex as "the true face of the German revolutionary [:] A sleepy rear-end with beard trimming."[30] Self-satisfied and complacent members of the bourgeoisie, enamored of their symbols of propriety: thus did the oh-so revolutionary Socialists appear to the left-oriented artist-intellectuals, who, even if able, were not willing to assess the situation in Germany in the context of traditional politics.

Disappointment with Wilson and the elected leaders of Germany was accompanied by a grudging admiration for, along with condemnation of, the industrial magnate Hugo Stinnes, who appeared to possess all the power and will deemed necessary to whatever socio-political transformations might be desired. Condemnation of him was based upon the question of social justice and popular political participation; Stinnes understandably devoted his efforts to maintaining a capitalist economic system and paternalism in order to retain control of socio-economic problem-solving in the hands of the men of power and undermine efforts to develop socio-political initiative and responsibility among German workers.[31] Admiration for him was, in fact, for the power he commanded. In their acknowledged powerlessness, the Dadaists and other artist-intellectuals could hardly initiate and direct a transformation of the magnitude that was deemed necessary and that an individual such as Stinnes seemed

capable of bringing about. Thus, the only hope for their aims, however unrealistic it may have been, was that of "proper" (that is, agreeing with them) free choice for the individual, following the psychological transformation essential to a basic socio-culturo-political change. The advantage that Stinnes had was the complete range of means upon which he could call: within his own sphere, Stinnes did not have to consider anyone else, and was certainly not expected to introduce a democratic system.

Critical contrasts of the Russian revolution and post-revolutionary activities in Russia with what had happened in Germany point up what Germany lacked, and the difficulties accompanying efforts to transform a nation without a popular base for transformation and without having recourse to authoritarian means. In Russia there was a strong-willed leader with very capable lieutenants, an organized party that had no compunctions about using whatever means were deemed necessary to achieve the ends desired, and a very concerted effort had been undertaken to create the open socio-political situation prerequisite to any transformation.

On a small scale, problems analogous to those appearing in German society that were criticized by the Dadaists, among others, appeared also in the Bauhaus community, and they shed more light upon the difficulties of democratic parliamentarianism and ambivalencies regarding an effective leader.

In the internal governing procedure of the Bauhaus, the Masters' Council played a major role. Originally composed of the Form Masters, the Council acted as an advisory board to the director in the consideration of problems involving the functioning of the Bauhaus as a school and a living community. The structuring of the Council contradicted aspects of the theory behind the educational community, and undermined certain aims of the Bauhaus. Among these were the ideas: that Form and Handicrafts Masters were equals, in a human if not in an artistic creative sense; that a close community was desirable; and that artificial boundaries between teachers and students should be done away with. Challenging the lie of equality, the Handicrafts Masters sought inclusion on the Masters' Council,[32] and Johannes Itten sought the same on behalf of the Bauhaus journeymen, those students who had passed the introductory courses and initial examinations.[33] Aware of some of the inherent difficulties of a parliamentary systems vis-à-vis efforts to introduee structural changes in a society, an organization, or a group, Gropius questioned the degree to which the Bauhaus government should be a collective concern. Being neither a political nor an economic organization, the effectiveness of the Bauhaus was dependent upon mutual trust and a common belief, both of which would apparently be challenged by a democratic, parliamentary association that implied a need for discussion and compromise. Moreover, Gropius felt that such a development would exacerbate the task of directing the Bauhaus, and might undermine the initiative of those carrying the major responsibility.[34] The uncer-

tainty conveyed by Gropius indicates a lack of clarity concerning democratic parliamentary processes, especially in light of the fact that the Council was still to be no more than an advisory body in vital matters. There was a denial, to some extent, of the avowed aim of preparing individuals to participate totally in society; responsibility, after all, can be expected to be developed only when an individual is put into a position where he may have some opportunity to act responsibly. This is not to say that a democratic, parliamentary organization was best, given the situation of the Bauhaus, nor that it would be best for educational institutions or in dealing with matters of a cultural nature. It *is* to assert that, if the quest was to relate theory and ideals to reality, the hypocrisy injected into the Bauhaus situation contradicted all that Gropius asserted he and the Bauhaus stood for. Recalling that the Bauhaus director advocated reform rather than revolution, concern was initially as much with the direction of action and the value of a way of acting, as with specific aims.

In Bauhaus affairs, it was essential that Gropius, as director, be significantly free in his decision-making. He alone was responsible both for the direction of internal affairs and the relations between the Bauhaus and the outside world, especially with the city of Weimar and the government of Thuringia. Effective action to achieve the ultimate aims of the Bauhaus was greatly dependent upon unity of feeling and commitment, expressed in trust for the director, a situation that would, however, give support to the traditional importance of and dependence upon leadership, as opposed to efforts to develop a viable, participatory system of community government on all levels. In reaction to what might again have appeared as arbitrary, autocratic decisions, came increased emphasis upon individualism, and an exaggeration of its threat to Bauhaus unity. Conviction in the propriety of his goals and a basic belief in the effectiveness *and* necessity of semi-authoritarian leadership apparently complemented Gropius's belief in individualism and influenced his stand. Further support for Gropius's attitude came from his belief that the idea of community and the feeling behind the idea, if accepted, as it apparently had been by those participating in the Bauhaus, implied a willingness to subordinate oneself to the leadership of an individual acting on behalf of that idea. Gropius was convinced that only a firm, directing personality, with a definite program and point of view, could make possible the realization of an idea, in this case the idea behind the Bauhaus, and the establishment and existence of a creative community.[35]

As an educational institution devoted to construction, the Bauhaus intended to keep free of political involvement in any specific sense. Political neutrality was deemed essential, were the ends of the Bauhaus to be promulgated through a total life conception, rather than through means that might demand a specific directing of artistic efforts and a compromising of ideals. Gropius was convinced that ideological party politics could and would lead to

the downfall of the Bauhaus. An early statement on the apolitical posture of the Bauhaus was made when questions were raised concerning a left-orientation of the school, including distribution of Socialist literature such as *Yes! Voices of the Work-Council for Art.* Founded or not, contentions of such political orientation added fire to the attacks upon the Bauhaus in Weimar. In response to the questions being raised, the Masters' Council restated its general prohibition of all political activity by students of the Bauhaus, under the threat of expulsion.[36] Reprimands were meted out to various students for having violated the prohibition, to one with the asserted concurrence of the student's friends for a critical, mocking drawing of Germania published in the radical periodical *Prolet,*[37] and to another for having made signs in Bauhaus workrooms to be used in a demonstration on behalf of workers killed during the chaotic series of events in Weimar that were related to the Kapp Putsch of March, 1920.[38]

Regardless of efforts to resist political involvement, the Bauhaus, founded under a Socialist Government and concerned to some degree with social problems, was associated by the Right with revolution and Socialism, if not Communism. The school was criticized as being an embodiment of the philosophy of the Left, when as a state-supported institution it should have been neutral. Such criticism could have been met only if the Bauhaus advocated a point of view opposite to that represented by the Thuringian Government, which would still not have been one of neutrality. Gropius viewed the problem as party politics versus objectivity: it would be "*impossible*" to participate in party politics and maintain objectivity.[39] He was even prepared to reject support from the Work-Council for Art for the Bauhaus because of possibly undesirable political repercussions. The struggle over the Bauhaus convinced him, in no uncertain terms, that every political party was dirt, breeding hate against hate, and that parties in general had to be ultimately destroyed. Only through devotion to ideas and ideals transcending political parties could the Bauhaus be maintained as an unpolitical and, therefore, constructive community.[40] Gropius justified his opposition to the political stand taken by Adolf Behne and the Work-Council on the basis of his reading of "Buddha, Christ, Meister Eckhardt, Saint Francis, Tolstoy, [and] Dostoievsky, all [of whom] disavow what you write me today."[41] By refusing to allow such men as Heinrich Vogeler, leader of the Worpswede Artist Colony near Hamburg and most outspoken of the Communist adherents among German artists, to speak in the Bauhaus, Gropius hoped to avoid any justification for claims that the Bauhaus was involved in propagandizing for Communism.[42] Such a position, though deemed necessary, meant restricting the free formation of individual attitudes. At the same time, with the support of the Ministry of the Interior, Gropius and his staff tried to impress upon their opponents in Weimar the fact that there could be little justification for, or hope for success in, controlling

the attitudes of the students in the Bauhaus and specifically molding the political and ethical convictions of adults.[43] Those who involved themselves with political propaganda activities, antagonizing the citizens of Weimar, would be dealt with severely, but such were few in the Bauhaus; implicating the school on the basis of the activities of a few individuals was the result of "malicious intent."[44] Regardless of the efforts of Gropius and the Masters in the Bauhaus, the school was drawn into the political arena, where its significant artistic and pedagogical role was subordinated to politics. Speaking for all in the Bauhaus, Oskar Schlemmer asserted that *"freedom exists only in the realm of dreams."*[45] Even retreat behind walls did not allow the school sufficient time and freedom to prepare for its self-chosen task of helping to define socially-relevant aesthetic values. But less time was available than was thought, because the societal prerequisites for the effective introduction of new values were never met.

Uncertainty surrounds interpretations of democracy as a political way of life in those nations that have long advocated and enjoyed such a system. Much greater was the uncertainty in Germany, professions to the contrary notwithstanding, due not only to a lack of knowledge, but also to an apparent lack of desire for knowledge concerning political matters. A later criticism by Grosz was pertinent to all the years of the Republic: a drawing, published in 1930, depicts members of the proletariat being herded into jail to the cheers and jeers of high society, as a contented bourgeois citizen, with his hands in the air, his ears enlarged to donkey size, and blinders blocking his vision, strolls away with the words "I don't want to know anything about politics."[46] Efforts of the Dadaists to participate in political construction that was intended to involve the entire citizenry were thwarted by a generally apolitical attitude, inspired primarily by apathy. Rather than accept responsibility for leading the revolution, affirming it, and giving it form, the bourgeoisie abdicated their responsibility out of moral and intellectual cowardice.[47] After the revolutionary days of 1918 and 1919, the bourgeoisie embarked upon a path oriented toward order, consolidation, and consensus, that drew criticism from both Right and Left. The basic lament, as stated and restated by the Dadaists and concerned artist-intellectuals, among others, was that all had "remained basically as in the old days, only become smaller, more miserable, and more philistine."[48]

In the face of miscarrying efforts at democracy, Raoul Hausmann depicted "democracy" as virtually a content-less word for the Germans, turned into a miasma of contradictions through attempted abstract systematization coupled with a basic practical denial of its tenets. Its inorganic nature in Germany turned democracy into "federated individual-anarchism," and the individual anarchist was but "a petty bourgeois successor of the classical cosmopolitan."[49] Bound willingly by his specific historical development, the representative German, as a type-composite, continued to speak of ideals on the one hand, and act according to contrary "realistic" criteria on the other. The petty bourgeois,

unchanged and unchallenged by a demand for a psychological revolution, consciously and unconsciously resisted the implementation of democracy. It might be that only the "I" or ego *(Ich)* existed in the world, but the truly individual, isolated "I" was "a solipsistic religion and illusion," just as "the religion of democracy" was an illusion,[50] an illusion that rigidified and limited the extent and meaning of human experience. Hausmann's statements shed more light on "purely" Dadaist concerns and add emphasis to assertions that Dada was a way of life from which might be derived, or to which might be related, viewpoints relevant to all specifics. A major concern pertained to the role of the individual vis-à-vis other individuals, a role that required responsibility, if not a significant degree of knowledge. This concern was coupled with a belief in the affinity of men and a belief in something akin to the Kantian categorical imperative, without its being overtly stated in terms either categorical or imperative. One key to the course of developments at a time when there was apparent agreement that construction was essential and that the new opportunities for political participation did exist, was that "many [most?] Germans had become politically conscious without experiencing political responsibility."[51] And this attitude was also to be found among members of the Dadaist movement and the Bauhaus, but more for the reason that they refused to compromise their views of the possible with the sordidness of the real.

"Dada is German Bolshevism!"[52] Huelsenbeck's declaration meant only that Dada was concerned with action, with constant becoming, and with stirring others into thought, if not action. Active thought was much more important in Germany than would have been a mere emulation of Bolshevik activities in Russia. Because of Germany's industrialization, and Lenin's belief that Germany was to lead the world revolution, different tactics and aims from those in Russia had to be foremost. In relative terms, the German people were very well off, and they were accordingly more concerned with the conservation of positive gains made in the preceding forty years than with any socially justified leveling of those gains. To challenge the acceptance of the status quo and the promulgation of the good for the sake of the good, for the few to whom it was significant, was another aspect of the Dadaist quest to call into question things petrified, to stir people into thought, to destroy "everything that [had] gone bourgeois."[53] Dada as "German Bolshevism" was a cultural matter, in the most general sense, and more basic than political Bolshevism.[54] The various attitudes of the Dadaists regarding Communism were independently arrived at where asserted, decided upon before the group had become active, but not closed. Based upon different criteria, those attitudes ranged from the possible good that could result from Communist influence to the idea that anything systematic was bound to be bad. And a culturally-rooted idealism permeated all their attitudes. Wieland Herzfelde, who, with his later publishing activities, might have been expected to know something of

Illustration 8: George Grosz

Right: "I don't want to know anything about politics," between 1921 and 1930.
Left: "Christ with a Gas Mask," after 1928.





Marxism, asserts that, at the time of the revolution, neither he nor his brother knew any more about Communism than the name "Marx."[55] Nevertheless, in 1919 he proclaimed his adherence to Communism for economic reasons: the Communist blueprint for action was better suited to the European situation after the war. Furthermore, all the individuals grouped around the Malik Publishing House, including George Grosz, who intended to render artistic support for the magazine he was then starting, *Die Pleite,* were of Spartacist-Bolshevist persuasion (read: sympathetic to Spartacism and Bolshevism).[56] As suggested by Herzfelde and Richard Huelsenbeck, Bolshevism (or Communism) was considered primarily in socio-economic rather than political terms.[57] Conflicts with representatives of various definite political directions were pursued almost exclusively in social and economic terms, that is, as a clash with capitalism, rather than with republicanism and democracy, in contrast to dictates of an increasingly dogmatic Communist Party line. But in grasping Communism as a solution in any sense, as did Herzfelde, his brother John Heartfield, the only Berlin Dadaist active throughout the Dada years who carried a Communist Party Card,[58] and Franz Jung temporarily, the freedom that they had so highly regarded was compromised. Several of the artist-intellectuals, caught up in the revolutionary fervor and their own righteous indignation with the evils of German capitalist society, took a similar step, and unwittingly contradicted their own major concern. Ideology was not a question; humanity was. But the ideal of Communism attracted adherence before there was any opportunity for the ideal to be translated into reality, and thus before the ideal had been in any way compromised.

At the same time as some individuals were nearing definite political commitments, Raoul Hausmann, among others, maintained the Dadaist rejection of everything that smacked of system, or that denoted a rigid, predetermined course of action, impinging upon individual freedom. Communism had become the mode for the artist-intellectual. "Every pig of a literary man is already . . . a Communist. Communism [is] like boot polish, 10 pennies a liter: with that a man is able to display good credentials."[59] Hausmann focused his complaints upon the surrender of individual freedom of action and the rush to conformity in accord with something that might still have been an ideal, but would be denigrated as soon as organization set in and dictated an unanswering direction. "Communism is the Sermon on the Mount, practically organized, a religion of economic justice, a beautiful nonsense."[60] Communism would be a new God, translated into attractive and understandable terms for an industrial and technological society. But the Sermon on the Mount, to become reality, was dependent not upon organization and a parallel legal code, but upon the incorporation of its lessons as part of man's nature. Although economic and social justice might solve many problems in the world, it alone could hardly solve all problems. Psychological realities had to be dealt with also: material

improvements, measurable in quantitative terms, and important as they might be, were not automatically going to effect qualitative changes. Hausmann's views were certainly closer than those of Herzfelde to the sort of concepts that the Dadaists might be expected to have held most unequivocally.

In general, opposition to everything bourgeois or bourgeois-influenced determined Dadaist sympathy for the Communists, although Dada was equally antithetical to Communism and to the "ideas" representative of Imperial Germany. The closest they came to a group statement on Communism, besides references to it in the program "What is Dadaism and What Does It Want in Germany?,"[61] was their overt profession of solidarity with the proletariat at the Dada "International Fair" in the Summer of 1920.[62] Statements suggestive of Communist ideology were so because of the left artist-intellectuals' use of Communist cliches, rather than any commitment to Marxist ideology. Proclamations of solidarity with the working class were expressions, in part, of a desire to overcome all distinctions between men that were based upon criteria outside of them. Grosz, for one, expressed his sympathy with revolutionary action in pictorial and verbal terms that were not necessarily Communist, although because of them he was associated by others with the Communist Party: "It is the duty of the revolutionary artist to practice a doubled propaganda effort, in order to purify the world view of supernatural forces, of God, and of angels, [and] in order to sharpen man's view of his real relationship to the surrounding world."[63] The distinctions drawn between the "real relationships" of man to the world and the superstructure built up to conceal or to rationalize those real relationships were sensed, if not fully understood, by the artist-intellectuals of the left as having been imposed upon a total reality, upon the complex interrelationship of the real to the ideal and of the objective to the subjective. Furthermore, influence in the world, were it to be of significance, had to be exerted upon people and their attitudes, rather than upon mere external realities. In this light, Huelsenbeck asserted that the Dadaists wanted to convince the bourgeois public that "their conception of art and [the] intellect was only an ideological superstructure that they sought to acquire . . . for money, thereby justifying their daily profiteering."[64] Huelsenbeck's terminology was not that of one well-versed in Marxism, and there was no suggestion that a change in the economic basis of society had to precede changes in art and the intellect; a turn away from profiteering did not require a total change in existing economic relationships. What could be changed was the attitude revealed by art purchases that were made only because such possessions indicated status and were an investment, in addition to the possibility that they might spiritually comfort the owner, assuage his doubts, affirm his beliefs, and neither criticize nor require conscious and concentrated attention. Before the war, the art critic Julius Meier-Graefe questioned when it would be possible to place Goethe above Frederick the Great without blushing? His

mocking answer was that the time would undoubtedly come after Germany had established superiority over England, America, and Japan: "First, let us have enough soldiers, ships, and money, above all, money. *Then we will buy paintings, statues, ideals, and a brand new culture.*"[65] Although not Marxian in drawing the relationship between economics and culture, the above analysis suggests the influence of the economic situation upon culture, and that there was a very real dichotomy between cultural values and reality. It was this duality that made it possible for German culture to be considered in terms of a purchasable commodity, as a pseudo-culture, rather than as having been developed from basic values that underlay society and politics. Successful opposition and resistance to the situation of duality that forms a basis for dialectics would also have meant a refutation of Marxist theory.

Criticism of the Dadaists as Bolsheviks was valid, in so far as Bolshevism was concerned with the destruction of the old system. Similarly, the Bauhaus might be considered a Bolshevik institution, more concerned with humanity than with Germany, in its implied and, in fact, very real internationalist stand "obviously" subordinate to (international) Communism. The most definite early stand taken by the Weimar Republic was against the threat of Bolshevism building up in the East,[66] rather than for anything that might strengthen Germany sufficiently that she could resist destructive internal forces. As one editorial in *Der blutige Ernst* stated, ". . . Democracy, Reform Socialism, and Monarchism can easily become married to one another. Antibol [anti-Bolshevism] unites everything."[67] Extremism on the Left influenced other political groupings to approach one another, and brought forth an increasingly strong response from the extreme Right, which had the important advantage of being, or seeming to be, wholly indigenous. Everything opposing the traditional and seeming to have international ties could be, and was, interpreted as being Communist; "Cultural Bolshevism" became an obsession of the Right.[68]

Once its opponents had decided that the Bauhaus was a Communist institution, no statements by Socialists or Communists were able to change this attitude. Remarks by the Socialist Representative Brill in the Thuringian Legislature were completely ineffectual: he noted that his Party, as a party of historical materialism, in terms of cultural politics and art judged the Bauhaus to be an appearance of the period of transition from the capitalist to the socialist age, the period "in which we [now] stand"; nothing could be said about its goals until the new construction was completed.[69] Similarly lacking in effect was the valid Communist reaffirmation that "the Bauhaus [had] nothing to do with Communism," but was a bourgeois institution.[70] In a period of increasing financial difficulties for the Bauhaus, the opponents of the school, and many of those who took a reasoned middle stand, were not about to believe assertions by the individuals and groups considered to be the chief supporters of the Bauhaus, making a final effort to garner support for its continued existence in

Weimar. There was no objective basis for assertions that the Bauhaus was a Communist institution, but there were many subjective bases, for the school was one more threat to an old, established way of life.

Coming from the spokesman for the Bauhaus (and the one individual who made some public statements concerning Communism), Gropius's views may be taken as indicative of the affinities between the Bauhaus and Communism. His conception of Communism was naive, and had little relation to any systematic ideological viewpoint. Gropius believed that a political, and probably an economic, revolution could occur without being necessarily followed by the "intellectual revolution" that would be necessary to make the German really free (*not:* to allow the German to become free), and this is what he saw as having occurred in Germany.[71] Questioned shortly after the publication of the essay in which he had made the above statement, Gropius asserted that until then (sometime in 1920), the German revolution had certainly not been, to any significant degree, the fulfillment of revolution in the sense of socialist teachings or "even" of the Communist Manifesto (!). Until then, the German Revolution had been only superficial; the inner, the spiritual revolution, upon which all success depended, was first beginning to stir within a few individuals.[72] Gropius's responses resemble what might be expected from a muddled Socialist Revisionary, who still had hopes for an evolutionary type "revolution." "The key idea [or ultimate aim] of Bolshevism is the dissolution of the state, the opposition to every formalism [system?] for the good of an absolute humanity. The real Bolshevism, as understood by *Lenin* and other leading intellects, declines the power to achieve this goal [!] [and] wants only the struggle of the individual, in word and deed, to the point of martyrdom for the idea."[73] Gropius was hardly prepared to analyze the new force that had made its appearance in the world, regardless of his manifold abilities as a creative architect and educator. He was another of those artist-intellectuals who instinctively felt some sympathy for Communism, able to do so without compromising any of their ideals while still unaware of the means Communism was to use in seeking to achieve its postulated ends.[74] Communism was for Gropius only what he made it out to be. He viewed the utopian ideal of the Bolsheviks as being on a par with all ideals, secular or religious, and differed radically from the Dadaist who, according to Huelsenbeck, would never understand how anyone could sacrifice his life for an ideal when life was worth living,[75] and life worth living required no ideal to make it so. The statement capping Gropius's published views, although basically denied by his involvement with the Bauhaus and his statements on behalf of the school, was that Bolshevism held the only possibility for the foreseeable future. Bolshevism alone promised to establish the conditions necessary for the creation of a culture based upon soul and humanity, as opposed to the rational civilization that was then the Germans' only possession.[76] Gropius's assessment of Communism was greatly conditioned by his

views concerning the reformation of society. His interest was not in Communism as a political movement, but in its concern with a total transformation, although not a revolutionary one, including personal attitudes and philosophies. In this general sense, most Form Masters of the Bauhaus tended to agree with idealistic Communism and the concepts of the "Cathedral of the Future" and the "Cathedral of Socialism."

Realities forced Gropius and the Bauhaus to become involved with political affairs in an effort to defend the position of the school. Circular reasoning was used by opponents of the Bauhaus and led to the characterization of such activity as indicative of its political involvement. Trying to maintain at least a minimum budget, Gropius sought political support from all conceivably favorable factions in the Thuringian Diet in response to the challenge raised by the German National faction, led by Dr. Emil Herfurth.[77] And Emil Lange, syndic and business manager of the Bauhaus from 1922 to 1924, who had earlier been a member of a socialist-oriented architectural group in Bremen, tried to garner Socialist support, emphasizing that the Bauhaus was not a creation of the Party and was not a Party affiliate, but had done much in behalf of many aims that concurred with those held dear by the Socialists.[78] In spite of having to seek party political support, the Bauhaus successfully resisted taking an overt party stand, and Gropius tried to obtain a grant from the national Ministry of the Interior out of the "fund for the protection of the Republic" to help finance the Summer Exhibit of 1923: "since the Bauhaus was born in the revolution, our intentions and our work might certainly belong in this [category]."[79] Whether more properly considered a child of the revolution or as having been aided by the revolution-as-midwife, since the ideas basic to the Bauhaus had preceded the revolution, the school *was an institution of the Republic* rather than of the Socialists, in contradistinction to contentions of the Weimar Rightists. Regardless of the support that was forthcoming from the Imperial Government, assertions about the anti-national, Socialist-created Bauhaus continued. The people of Weimar rejected the Bauhaus along with the revolution and the Republic.

With the appearance of a pamphlet in April, 1924, entitled *The State Bauhaus in Weimar and Its Leader*, and known as the "Yellow Brochure," the battle against the Bauhaus reached its maximum pitch. The stated reason for the pamphlet was not to challenge the goals and efforts of the Bauhaus, but to present the basis for a just judgment of the school after its first five years.[80] In fact, the pamphlet was a polemic against certain specifics and led to illogical inferences justifying a condemnation of the Bauhaus. Asserting no concern with the political leaning of the Bauhaus, a backhanded attribution of political bias, the wish of the pamphlet writers was merely to show that the Bauhaus was not politically disinterested. A major point was made concerning the first prospectus for the Summer Exhibit of 1923 that had been drawn up by Oskar Schlemmer and

subsequently not used; the Bauhaus had been proclaimed as the rallying point for those who wanted to build the Cathedral of Socialism,[81] which Gropius had referred to as "artistic communism."[82] Admitting Schlemmer's provocative language, the Bauhaus director denied having used the phrase "artistic communism," except perhaps in voicing opposition to such a concept.[83] The Bauhaus was called to account for its "pro-Communist" Form Master;[84] the reference was assumed as having been to Lászlő Moholy-Nagy, who had in fact never been a member of any political party, although his private views, known to Josef Zachmann, one of the authors of the brochure who had been expelled from the Bauhaus, may have indicated him as another of the many artist-intellectuals who sympathized to some degree with certain Communist ideals.[85] Guilt by association was the least objectionable of the techniques employed in the "Yellow Brochure." It was suggested that any Communist sympathies would have a great influence upon one's teaching, transforming it into propaganda, something not to be accepted in a state school, especially when practiced by a foreigner. Moreover, all indications suggested that the Bauhaus was the "favorite child of the Socialist Government,"[86] and therefore a Socialist institution. Complementary to guilt by association was the equally damaging method of inferring specific ideas from a general viewpoint, and of inferring a general viewpoint from a few specifics. Agreement with certain Socialist ideals, as mentioned by Emil Lange, was "logically" elaborated, within the context of ideological politics, into a total political viewpoint. Thus, a reform-oriented group or institution, concerned with certain specific changes, was transformed into a value-oriented, revolutionary group that challenged an entire way of life. For those on the Right, this was neither unjust nor illogical: having themselves rejected the intended transformation of Germany, and maintaining their own mental and emotional world of pre-revolutionary Germany, the Bauhaus did appear revolutionary. Within the context of post-revolution Germany, the Bauhaus was reform-oriented; within the context of pre-revolution Germany, the Bauhaus would have been revolution-oriented, and that was the context for the Weimar traditionalists. That was also the context for the Dadaists: post-war Germany was, according to them, a continuation of pre-revolution Germany, and demanded a revolutionary stance.

The Dadaists continued criticisms that had been valid before the revolution, because they saw the essential aspects of that situation persisting. The same authorities were still appealed to; only the government, based upon law and a constitution, knew what order was. Everything else was unlawful, and therefore termed "revolt" or "Red Guard."[87] Full support for authority and those in power was the only possible position, were one not to be considered as being in opposition to the legally established government. This attitude was not new for Germans, but it was alien to the democratic traditions that had been hoped would be introduced in Germany. In fact, the tradition of

dualism was perpetuated. Revolution had been a dream, and the militarists and the anarchists were again at hand.[88] Two drawings in the last, post-Dadaist issue of *Bankruptcy* portrayed the only hope for a liberal, democratized Germany as seen by many of the artist-intellectuals in the 'twenties. The first drawing was by Grosz, under the pseudonym Bõff: entitled "Break of Dawn," the caption under a grouping of degenerate bourgeois philistines was "After us—Communism!" On the following page appeared a drawing by L. Griffei, entitled "Brothers, to the sun, to freedom!"; beneath a man looking through a window at the armed proletariat marching proudly by were the words "*Before* us, Communism!"[89] Individualistic efforts had failed; what remained was Communism, but still the idealistic Communism, which could destroy stifling tradition and serve as the weapon with which to attain freedom, not the dogma that was to automatize the lives of millions.

War-time developments and revolution had sparked hopes and brought several individuals together for a brief time. The Dadaists set one case before a limited German public. Frustrated in their efforts, they returned to courses that they had previously selected, or took up the more definite courses that might have been embarked upon at an earlier time, had it not been for the situation of openness and ambiguity after 1916 that invited action. The Bauhaus was also established to prepare a case to be set before the German public, but in concrete terms. Drawn together by ideals that were not realized as intended, most of the Form Masters called by Gropius to the Bauhaus in Weimar gradually modified their relationship to the school, essentially redividing it into the two components of Fine Arts Academy and School of Applied Arts. In Dessau, Feininger had no teaching duties; discontinuation of the ceramics workshop kept Marcks from accompanying the Bauhaus in its move; Itten had left the Bauhaus in 1923, and Schreyer departed the same year. Only Kandinsky stayed in the school until it was officially closed in July, 1933; Gropius left in 1928, Muche preceding him by a year, while Schlemmer left the following year, and Klee took leave in 1931. In the Bauhaus, they had had an atmosphere of security, and a fluctuating degree of freedom; the ideals had been noble, and, though not realized, added another meaningful failure to German history.

For both the Dadaists and the members of the Bauhaus, attitudes towards life in the broadest sense had preceded social and political views. But the convictions of neither the one nor the other were in accord with what might have been most efficacious for the development of a democratic republic in Germany, and could not have been. Both, understandably, read too much potential into man during a period of stress. The Dadaists saw too little having resulted from a lost war and an aborted revolution, while Gropius and the members of the Bauhaus saw too much. The Dadaists' perception of post-war Germany dictated against their cooperating in any way with official directives or with the sentiments apparently evidenced by the voters, sentiments that were

superficial in relation to basic societal changes. On the other hand, the Bauhaus, with a definite program to pursue, was not sufficiently prepared in Weimar to relate that program fully to the people. Although both groups were concerned with the artist as artist *and* as human being in a total sense, they conceived their responsibility as being only to themselves as artists and as human beings; justifiably unwilling to compromise that responsibility, they also seemed unwilling to conceive of social responsibility in any but self-righteous terms. Among the many intellectuals and artist-intellectuals who had hoped to have been able to influence the course of events, the Dadaists and the members of the Bauhaus, too, saw no way in which to accommodate their views and attitudes to a social situation that they rejected, or to people whose way of thinking they variously rejected without trying to understand, understood poorly, or understood too well and found it necessary to reject. Politics was incorporated within the totality of considerations, treated as both more and less than a means to achieving a tolerable, if not laudable, situation. Caught up in the world-view mode of thinking, politics was given more significance than it deserved; seen as limiting and dependent upon compromise, and thus dishonest, it was not asserted to be insignificant, but was rejected as a means to achieve desirable ends.

NOTES

[1] See Walter Hofer, *Geschichtsschreibung und' Weltanschauung: Betrachtungen zum Werk Friedrich Meineckes* (Munich, 1961) for example, pp. 29-32.

[2] See above, pp. 12-13, 24, 113-114.

[3] See, for example, Hugh Dalziel Duncan, *Language and Literature in Society: A Sociological Essay on Theory and Method in the Interpretation of Linguistic Symbols With a Bibliographical Guide to the Sociology of Literature* (Chicago, 1953), p. 122.

[4] See Watson, *Kunst, Künstler und Soziale Kontrolle,* p. 82 and n. 155.

[5] "Knowledge is no power. Power is the heart, power is the impetus, power is the longing after freedom": Huelsenbeck, *Deutschland muss untergehen!*, p. 5.

[6] See, for example, Karl Jaspers' discussion of moral and metaphysical guilt that is related to the discussion of individual responsibility (*The Question of German Guilt,* trans. E.B. Ashton [New York, 1961], pp. 31-32, 36, 63-73).

[7] See above, p. 77.

[8] For a discussion of this problem as it affected the Surrealists in France in a fashion analogous to that in Germany, see Short, "Politics of Surrealism" (1966), pp. 3, 12-14, 23-24.

[9] See Johannes Itten and Lyonel Feininger, "Zur Frage einer staatlichen Fürsorge für geistig Schaffende," December, 1919 (?), in Wingler, *Bauhaus*, p. 44.

[10] See Grosz, *Abrechnung folgt!,* and especially the title drawing, p. 15; another factor has to be considered with reference to Grosz—and the Dadaists in general—which is his association with Herzfelde, Heartfield, and the Malik-Publishing House, with its pro-Communist and pro-Russian policies and activities (see above, p. 50, p. 70, n. 52., and below, pp. 168-170.

[11] Correspondence regarding the "Artists' Aid" was between December 21, 1921, and February 20, 1922 (approximately): the initial letter, entitled "Aufruf des Komitees der 'Künstlerhilfe' für die Hungernden Russlands," was signed by the theatrical director Erwin Piscator, secretary of the group, and work was to be sent by Feininger, Klee, Muche, Schlemmer, and Schreyer (see STAW, St. B'haus temp. Nos. 130-133); with reference to the "International Workers' Aid," see the prospectus ("Die Internationale Arbeiterhilfe [I.A.H.]") and the accompanying letter concerning the exhibit and auction, dated December 13, 1923, and the early January reply (either the 7th or the 11th) indicating that work would be donated by Feininger, Kandinsky, Klee, Marcks, Moholy-Nagy, Muche, and Schlemmer, among others (see STAW, St. B'haus temp. Nos. 354-357).

[12] For the general context, see for example, Mendelssohn, *Zeitungsstadt Berlin,* p. 264; also see Helmut Gruber, "Willi Münzenberg's German Communist Propaganda Empire, 1921-1933," *Journal of Modern History,* XXXVIII, iii (September, 1966), pp. 284-287, and p. 286, n. 25, for the names of the charter members of the International Workers' Aid, who included Grosz and Albert Einstein, and pp. 288-289, n. 36, for some of Münzenberg's general associates, who included Herzfelde, Heartfield, Mehring, and Grosz.

13 See illustrations, p. 159.

14 Hausmann, "Christlich-Sozial," in *Hurra! Hurra!*, esp. pp. 12-13.

15 George Grosz to Robert Bell [1916/17?], p. 4, Berlin, Akademie der Künste, GG No. 29.

16 Done in 1921; reproduced in *Das neue Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse: 60 neue Zeichnungen* (Berlin, 1930), p. 35; also appeared in *Das Gesicht der herrschenden Klasse* of 1921.

17 Letter of April 21, 1915, from *Briefe aus dem Felde*, in Schmidt, *Manifeste*, p. 103; Paul Klee commented on Marc's position: "The changing times oppressed him, he wanted man to change with them. But he himself was still a human being and there was a remnant of inner conflict that bound him" (Felix Klee, *Diaries of Paul Klee*, No. 1008, p. 344); also see above, p. 138.

18 This attitude is basically in agreement with the view based by Lawrence J. Hatterer upon his extensive dealings with artists, that "to share his experience is the artist's reward": *The Artist in Society: Problems and Treatment of the Creative Personality* (New York, 1965), p. 26.

19 For example, Huelsenbeck, *En avant Dada*, p. 24.

20 See Huelsenbeck, *Dada*, p. 27—translation in Motherwell, *Anthology*, p. 243.

21 For example, J[ohn] C. Middleton, "Dada versus Expressionism, or The Red King's Dream," *German Life and Letters*, XV, i (October, 1961), pp. 46-47.

22 For example, Franz Jung indicated his belief in the importance of the strong individual, capable of proceeding on his own ("Wenn Alle wissen werden," *Um Weisheit und Leben*, Vierte Folge der Vorarbeit—Freie Strasse [Berlin-Wilmersdorf, 1916], p. 10, and "Verantwortung zum Glück," *Die Technik des Glücks*, Sechste Folge der Vorarbeit [1917], p. 9), and/or of a well-organized party, as was the case in Russia (*Das geistige Russland von heute* [Berlin, 1924], p. 27).

23 "Kientopp der 'Pille,' " *Die Pille*, II, ii (January 13, 1921), 47-48; contrast with Friedrich Wieser, "Die Revolutionen der Gegenwart," *Deutsche Rundschau*, Vol. 182 (January-March, 1920), p. 333, who asserts that the German people were "regierungsreif" and "wahlreif."

24 See above, pp. 78-79, 85-86; also see Geiger, *Aufgaben und Stellung*, pp. 71, 130-131, 167.

25 For example, *Ein kleines Ja*, p. 174; at the same time, Grosz also expressed opposition to the politics of the "superman," ibid., p. 176; also see Richter, *Dada*, pp. 115-116.

26 There was also much doubt, including a questioning of the demand that only democratic states participate: see, for example, Otto Hintze, "Imperialismus und deutsche Weltpolitik," in *Die deutsche Freiheit*, pp. 154-155.

27 See, for example, Troeltsch, *Spektator-Briefe*, p. 17 ("Die innere Entwicklung der deutschen Revolution. [Ein Überblick aus dem November 1920]"); Herron, *Der Pariser Frieden*, pp. 16-17.

28 Mehring, *Einfach klassisch!*, pp. 30-31.

29 Huelsenbeck, *Deutschland muss untergehen!*, p. 6.

30 Hausmann, "Sublitterel," *Der Dada*, No. 1 [1919], p. [3].

31 For example, many pictorial criticisms of Stinnes were made by Grosz, indicating the latter's sympathy with Socialistic and Communist ideas and the ease with which one could criticize such a powerful individual who was in the public eye; in the periodical *Der Gegner*, II, i-ii (1920/21), p. 2, Grosz attacks "Entrepreneur-Initiative," in which the fat industrialist sits on skeletons with his factory in the background; Vol. II, No. 6 of *Der Gegner* (1920/21) was accompanied by a version of *Die Pleite* as a supplement, which included a series of panels entitled "—concerning Stinnes": the drawings represented his apparent omnipotency, control of the press, him as a shadow cabinet chief, as "teacher of the S.P.D." (aid for him in economic reconstruction would be followed by aid from him with "socialization"), as army leader, as "Realpolitiker," and as "Saviour of the Fatherland" (p. 2); in *Der Gegner*, II, x/xi (1920/21), p. 349, is a drawing in which Stinnes stands upon a pile of money and bones with his puppet "Fritz" (Ebert): "Stinnes and his President, or Peace between Capital and Work." Also see *Die Pleite*, I, vii (July, 1923), p. [4]: "Stinnes works sixteen hours daily—heavy worker," and pp. [5-7]: "The Stinnes Riddle"; and Eugen Ortner, *Gott Stinnes: Ein Pamphlet gegen den vollkommenen Menschen* (Hannover and Leipzig, 1922).

32 Letter from the Handicrafts Masters to the Masters' Council, April 7, 1922, STAW, Thüringisches Ministerium für Volksbildung, No. 268.

33 Protocol of the Meeting of the Masters' Council, May 16, 1922, p. 1, STAW, St. B'haus temp. No. 184.

34 "An die Werkstättenleiter des Staatlichen Bauhauses," April 21, 1922 (typewritten carbon copy), p. [1], STAW, St. B'haus temp. No. 47.

35 Walter Gropius to Otto Bartning (architect in Berlin who was later to take charge of the school in Weimar), January 29, 1920 (typewritten carbon copy), STAW, St. B'haus temp. No. 399; concerning the problem of leadership, and the internal and external roles, see Gusfield, "Functional Areas of Leadership . . ." (1966), pp. 137-138, 140-142.

36 Protocol of the Meeting of the Masters' Council, December 18, 1919, p. [4], STAW, St. B'haus temp. No. 184.

37 Walter Gropius to Karl Peter Röhl, February 7, 1920 (typewritten carbon copy), STAW, St. B'haus temp. No. 399.

38 Letter to Margit Terry-Adler, [March 24, 1920] (typewritten carbon copy), SG, BD.

39 Letter to Adolf Behne, January 15, 1920, p.[2] (typewritten carbon copy), and to Otto Bartning, January 29, 1920 (typewritten carbon copy), STAW, St. B'haus temp. No. 399.

40 Walter Gropius to Adolf Behne, January 31, 1920, p. [1], (typewritten carbon copy), STAW, St. B'haus temp. No. 399.

41 Walter Gropius to Adolf Behne, February 4, 1920, p. [1], (typewritten carbon copy), STAW, St. B'haus temp. No. 399.

42 See Heinrich Vogeler to Walter Gropius, no date (handwritten), and Gropius to Vogeler, September 17, 1921 (typewritten carbon copy), STAW, St. B'haus temp. Nos. 126-128.

43 For example, "Neuschrift des Kultusministeriums," Thuringia (Weimar, May [1], 1920), pp. 15-16 (seen in SG, BD).

44 Staatliches Bauhaus, Weimar, *Streit um das Staatliche Bauhaus*, p. 19.

45 Schlemmer, *Briefe*, p. 144, Letter to O[tto] M[eyer-Amden], February 12, 1923.

46 See illustration, p. 169.

47 See Otto Flake, "Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft," in *Das Dritte Heft* of *Die Fünf Hefte*, p. 144.

48 Troeltsch, *Spektator-Briefe*, p. 48 ("Der Ansturm gegen die Demokratie," April 28, 1919).

49 Raoul Hausmann, "Schnitt durch die Zeit," *Die Erde*, I, xviii/xvix (October 1, 1919), 541.

50 Raoul Hausmann, ". . . individualistische Anarchist . . .," *Die Erde*, I, ix (May 1, 1919), 277.

51 Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961), p. 208.

52 Huelsenbeck, "En Avant Dada," in Motherwell, *Anthology*, p. 44.

53 Ibid., p. 42.

54 See B[ernhard] G[rõttrup], "A.E.I.O.U.," *Die Pille*, II, iii (January 20, 1921), 59; compare with J[ohn] C. Middleton, " 'Bolshevism in Art': Dada and Politics," *Texas Studies in Language and Literature*, IV, iii (1963), 408-409, 422-423, 430.

55 Herzfelde, *John Heartfield*, pp. 15, 21.

56 As reported in Kessler, *Tagebücher*, pp. 108-109 (January 8, 1919); Herzfelde sought financial support for the magazine from Kessler.

57 See above, pp. 157-158.

58 Hausmann, *Courrier Dada*, p. 24; today Herzfelde and Heartfield live in East Germany.

59 [Hausmann], "Alitterel," *Der Dada*, No. 1 [1919], p. [3].

60 Hausmann, "Pamphlet gegen die Weimarische Lebensauffassung," in Huelsenbeck, *Dada*, p. 34.

61 See above, p. 78.

62 See above, p. 142.

63 Grosz, ". . . neuen Bildern" (1920), p. 11; also in Grosz and Herzfelde, *Kunst ist in Gefahr*, p. 43.

64 Huelsenbeck, ". . . dadaistische Bewegung" (1920), p. 979, also in "Einleitung zum Dada-Almanach" (1920), in Huelsenbeck, *Dada*, p. 102.

65 Meier-Graefe, *Wohin treiben wir?*, p. 50, my emphasis.

66 See, for example, Rosen, "Wilsonismus and Bolschewismus" (1919), pp. 251-257.

67 "Auf der Wohlfahrt zum Kaisertum," *Der blutige Ernst*, I, v (1919), p. xx.

68 See, for example, Diederich, *Bolschewismus und Expressionismus*, Doerschlag, *Bolschewismus, Idealismus und Kultur*, and Adolf Dresler, ed., *Deutsche Kunst und entartete "Kunst": Kunstwerk und Zerrbild als Spiegel der Weltanschauung* (Munich, 1938).

69 *Landtag von Thüringen, 1923. Stenographische Berichte.* 156th Session. Friday, March 16, 1923, p. 4386.

70 *III. Landtag von Thüringen, 1924. II. Abt[eilung]: Ausschussberichte. 80. Fortgesetzter Bericht des Haushaltsausschusses zum Haushaltsplan von Thüringen 1923 u. 1924. Weimar, den 9. Dezember 1924—Kap.* VII: Ministerium für Volksbildung. Titel 23. Kunstlehranstalten, a) für bildende Kunst: 1. Staatliches Bauhaus in Weimar," p. 178.

71 For example, Gropius, "Baukunst im freien Volksstaat," in Drahn and Friedegg, *Deutscher Revolutions-Alamanch*, p. 134.

72 Annalise Schmidt, *Der Bolschewismus und die deutschen Intellektuellen: Äusserungen auf eine Umfrage des Bundes deutscher Gelehrter und Künstler* (Leipzig, 1920), p. 47.

73 Ibid., pp. 14, 53; Radek, speaking of National Bolshevism, expressed a high regard for those willing to risk their lives for "ideals": Ascher and Lewy, "National Bolshevism" (1956), p. 462 and n. 22.

74 For example, see Richard Crossman, ed., *The God That Failed* (New York, 1950 and 1959).

75 Huelsenbeck, ". . . dadaistische Bewegung" (1920), p. 973.

76 Schmidt, *Bolschewismus und die Intellektuellen*, pp. 50, 53.

77 See the questionnaire from Herfurth to Gropius and the Bauhaus, the answer from Gropius, and his letters in quest of support to District Director Knauer, Chairman of the United Socialist Party's faction in the Thuringian Diet, to the chairman of the Democratic faction, and to the Communist Party faction, December, 1921-March, 1922, STAW, St. B'haus temp. No. 412.

78 Lange to the Chief Editor of the [Socialist] newspaper *Das Volk* (Jena), November 13, 1922, 2 pp. (typewritten carbon copy).

79 Letter to Erwin Redslob, Reichskunstwart, October 2, 1922, p. [1], (typewritten carbon copy), STAW, St. B'haus temp. No. 308.

80 Arno Müller (in fact, the pamphlet was written by a former syndic of the Bauhaus, Hans Beyer, and two former members of the Bauhaus, Josef Zachmann and Carl Schlemmer), *Das Staatliche Bauhaus und sein Leiter* (Weimar, April, 1924), p. [3].

81 See above, p. 64.

82 Müller, *Staatliche Bauhaus*, p. [3].

83 Walter Gropius, "Betr[effend die] Broschüre 'Staatliches Bauhaus und sein Leiter' von Beyer, Zachmann u[nd] C[arl] Schlemmer," Weimar, May 12, 1924, p. [1], copy in SG, BD.

84 Müller, *Staatliche Bauhaus,* p. 4.

85 Gropius, "Betr. Broschüre . . .," p. 2; see, for example, László Moholy-Nagy, "In Answer to Your Interview," *The Little Review,* XII, ii (May, 1929), pp. 54-56.

86 Müller, *Staatliche Bauhaus,* p. 28.

87 Raoul Hausmann, "Ein Schiessgewehr voll Nächstenliebe," in *Hurra! Hurra!,* p. 10.

88 See the verse by Mehring, above, p. 112.

89 *Die Pleite,* No. 10/11 (June, 1924), pp. [3-4].

AFTERWORD

To the Cartesian proposition: "I think, therefore I am," he opposed his own, which must have gone something like this: "I imagine, therefore I belong and am free."[1]

"How do I best get up the mountain?"
Just climb, and don't think about it![2]

Is it the vision or is it the act that is crucial? is a combination of the two possible without compromising either? if so, is that combination to be a synthesis or a dynamic, complementary interaction? These were some of the questions with which the German artist-intellectuals had to deal and, as befits the questions and the individuals considering them, it is not surprising that they arrived at no definite answers.

Vitally affected by an efflux of the by-products of industrialization and the building of a world-power, many artist-intellectuals in Germany felt a necessity to respond. An eddying cry of anguish, comparable to that depicted by the Norwegian proto-Expressionist Edvard Munch in his painting "The Cry," passed through the lips of the young pre-World War I painters and writers, and then enveloped them. Despair[3] in the conviction that they were observing and unwillingly participating in the decline of Germany, if not the West, led them to expressions of the apparent Armageddon in the offing, and the reasons for it.

But the war was not Armageddon. In fact, it seemed to clear the way for a serious effort on their part, they who had all too impassionately—they thought—suffered its coming, to help rectify the situation that had made it a possibility. But the transition from socially supportive or negatively critical symbolic expression, from the stylistic and technical experimentation of "art for art's sake," which may be placed in a sub-category of the ideal within the dualistic ideal-real dichotomy and that has no relevancy to anything outside itself, or from art as object in a materialistic sense,[4] to an art leading to "right action"[5] or establishing a course "for life to follow,"[6] required much more than the wish or dream[7] that it be so. Significant efforts at making such a transition came with the formation of artists' action groups, following the example set by the group that had formed around Franz Pfemfert's periodical *Action*.[8] The November Group and the Work-Council for Art were the two major groups formed in 1918, during the period of revolution and flourishing hopes.[9] Already in its second year of existence in Berlin at that time was the Dada group, and in the Spring of 1919 the Bauhaus was formed. Of all the participants in the various groups, only among the Dadaists did there seem to be significant recognition that if artist-intellectuals were to have a practical effect upon individuals and groups, modifying their conduct in and conception

of the world,[10] they were very much dependent upon the action or support of groups devoted to political and social action,[11] or upon individuals who had the respectful attention of major population groups in society.[12] Their recognition of these facts meant that when the Dadaists decided to participate positively in affecting the society of which they were in some way a part, Dada had to be dissipated as a movement; previously, because they as Dadaists were active vis-à-vis society, although negatively, those among them who decided against action had also to defect from the group. In the Bauhaus, the artist-intellectuals were generally devoted to art far above all else, and, despite professions to the contrary, lack of social influence was not a matter of real concern.

Part of the ineffectiveness of the artist-intellectual was rooted in his being recognized as an "individual endowed with exceptional sensibilities and emotional faculties of apprehension; [but the] very acuteness of perception which distinguishes the artist is purchased at the price of maladaptation, of non-conformity and revolt."[13] It was as if taken for granted that he would not understand people different from himself, and he generally did not prove anyone wrong in this regard;[14] for all these reasons, if not more, his unsupported attempts to participate in socio-political construction were viewed with suspicion. His unique capacities, real or imagined by himself or by society, separated him from society, and helped to prevent him from bridging the gap between himself and the people. So long as such was the case, the artist was dependent upon the critic, whose role authorized him to interpret the artist's work for the non-artist and the layman, and thereby act as the bridger of the gap. Often suffering misinterpretation, the artist had to accept it as a necessary evil, withdraw completely from contacts with the public (or at least withdraw his art from the public purview), or he might wage a war against the critics, as did Kurt Schwitters, trying to impress people that precise intellectual understanding might not, in fact, be the key to understanding the works of an artist.[15]

Those artist-intellectuals who have been considered in this study were concerned with participating in social action, and thus, as artists, were very much concerned with communication (unless, as was the case, for example, with Max Ernst in Cologne, they dissociated, or tried to dissociate, their special talents as artists from their other concerns).[16] For them, the problem of direct communication was vital, with efforts to communicate to whom and when they wished being, at best, tenuous. Asserting sympathy for the proletariat did not mean that they would be able, without taking special pains, to communicate, through their art, with the proletariat, nor did the desire to communicate to the bourgeoisie their distaste for them, and to impress them with the need to change, mean that they would be able to make their point. This the Dadaists quickly discovered, yet they did communicate something and did draw responses. Reaction to the Bauhaus was not to its positive accomplishments, but to intentions insinuated by its opponents.[17]

In so far as the artist presents his work for others to consider, that work is necessarily social in nature and dependent, at least in part, upon the expression and communication of *something* to someone.[18] Because of some uncertainty as to how his audience may interpret his work, the artist's chances of communicating a very general statement are much better than if he seeks to communicate something precise. "Unlike the political revolutionary or social reformer, who would change the forms of social intercourse, the artist could change our total response to the universe of man and nature,"[19] a fundamental change that would affect every aspect of man's life in the world. Accordingly, Dadaist efforts, and efforts of at least some of those artist-intellectuals in the Bauhaus, were explorations of possibilities for action;[20] by advocating a situation of ambiguity and uncertainty they hoped to maximize those possibilities and virtually force people into making choices, committing themselves to understood, rather than passively accepted, norms and values, and becoming inner-directed individuals. In this sense, precisely those works of art that were incomplete and/or ambiguous would be most fruitful.[21] Revolution-oriented, concerned with the general and generalizing reactions to German society, the Dadaists did not have to direct their artistic efforts in order to make their point in specific terms. On the other hand, the Bauhaus, with its orientation towards reform, was concerned with specifics, and therefore dependent almost entirely upon the efforts of those educated with Bauhaus aims in mind. Because expression of oneself as an individual is more conducive to total communication than is expression on behalf of a group, the Dadaists had an advantage over the members of the Bauhaus staff, when acting their roles as defined by the Bauhaus.

In the face of ineffectiveness, to continue their efforts without changing their means would have amounted to an expression on the part of those artist-intellectuals of a death wish, however modified a form it might in fact take. For the revolutionary artist-intellectuals, retaining their hopes and high regard for humanist individualism, some of Robert Brustein's comments on revolutionary playwrights are pertinent, and explain some of the difficulties that the artist-intellectual had to cope with, or accept and surrender to.

> [This] impossibilist embodies what may be the last genuine humanist value of our crippled civilization: an abiding, indestructible respect for the truth (he holds this even when he no longer believes the truth is attainable). To be a committed political animal today is to care for something more than truth, to involve oneself in compromise for the sake of the well-being and progress of man. But *if politics is the art of the possible, art is the politics of the impossible*—the free artist would sooner sacrifice the world than relinquish the integrity of his vision. Thus, *art encompasses politics, but refuses to affirm it. . . .*[22]

The "impossibilist" as a type in the modern world is epitomized in the person of Friedrich Nietzsche, the source or inspiration for many of those ideas and an intellectual forerunner of the Dadaists.

> It is enough to love, to hate, to desire, to just experience—*immediately* we are gripped by the spirit and the power of the dream, and we ascend the most hazardous paths with open eyes and indifferent to all perils, high up to the roofs and towers of fantasy, without any dizziness, as if born to climb—we night-walkers of the day! We artists! We concealers of genuineness! We moonstruck and godstruck ones! We dead silent, indefatigable wanderers on heights that we do not perceive as heights, but as our plains, as our places of safety![23]

In these passages we can find, in addition to difficulties for artist-intellectuals in their efforts to relate to society, a suggestion as to why it was that, among the artist-intellectuals, architects took the lead in the action groups. When concerned with utopian fantasies, to be realized only on paper or with models, the architects could ascend the heights with the other artists, but when translating their work into material form, they had to be considerate of practical realities. Still intent upon architecturally expressing their social and political ideas, those ideas had inevitably to be generalized into virtual oblivion, as contrasted to a transformation into revolution-inspiring concepts: for structures to be generally acceptable, they have to be inhabitable rather than unsettling. Practicality did mean the compromising of visions, or, at the very least, a necessary dichotomizing of the ideal and the real; this was the case in the Bauhaus, and, when added to its own self-imposed isolation as an elitist grouping of specially gifted individuals, meant a shattering of hopes to be among the leaders in the construction of a new Germany. In contrast, rather than continue in their Dadaist guises and suffer frustration and enervation in futility, the participants in Dada retreated to positions more acceptable to and understandable by members of society-at-large. They acted according to their beliefs, and selected those paths they saw as most likely to result in the effective translation of their beliefs into reality. Those who became political activists did so out of conviction that top priority should be given the mode of action most likely to be effective. Those who turned to the traditional critical activities of the intellectual did so in the candid belief that the maintenance of ideals and visions of what could be was of primary importance. For either grouping of former Dadaists and for the original Form Masters in the Bauhaus, after they departed from the school, a compromising of ideals was out of the question, because they lived their beliefs. A compromising of ideals by individuals in the Bauhaus was also out of the question, but here because German dualism was inadvertently continued, though vociferously and sincerely opposed in virtually all theoretical statements that dealt with this problem.

Germany did require leadership after World War I. A goal was necessary, but a goal that demanded and inspired a change in accustomed modes of thought and in the tradition-bound way of life. Leadership and goal definition could have been established by the Socialist Party, had they not politically compromised themselves to death between 1914 and 1919; the Socialists in the

sense advocated by Rosa Luxemburg, were the logical contact points between artist-intellectuals and the people, and only they could have put the proposals of the progressive artist-intellectuals into politically viable terms. Positive efforts pursued by the Bauhaus during the Weimar years, the preparatory years for the school, remained on an ideal plane, and no one knew how to translate them into reality; those in the Bauhaus were frozen to their "what" vis-à-vis society, because for their utopia there existed no "how." Relatively unconcerned with "what" was ultimately to be accomplished, the Dadaists lived their "how," and by so doing made themselves feared, hated, and incomprehensible; their human plane was all too human in its encompassing of both ideal and real, and was in fact predicated more upon what man might be than upon what he was. In the Bauhaus, they thought and thought, reducing themselves, and the mountain that existed for Germans to climb, to thought. Imprisoned by the chains of their intricate ratiocination, they could not climb the mountain, and thereby were saved from the fate of the Dadaists. The Dadaists imagined, they belonged to humanity, they were free except to the degree that they tied themselves to the social situation, and they did climb the mountain. But there was no plateau on which they could gain a moment of release from their task, and there was no pinnacle that they could reach; there was no real release, and the Dadaists were condemned to fruitless isolation in their bold freedom and in their sensitive recognition of German reality.

NOTES

[1] Lawrence Durrell, *Justine* (New York, 1961), p. 89.

[2] Friedrich Nietzsche, "16. Aufwärts," from "Scherz, List und Rache," *Die frohliche Wissenschaft*, in *Werke in drei Bänden*, ed. K. Schlechta (Munich, 1954-1956), II, 20.

[3] Gotshalk, *Art and Social Order*, p. 233.

[4] See Jean Duvignaud, "Problèmes de sociologie de la sociologie des arts," *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, XXVI [New Series, 6th Year] (January-June, 1959), pp. 142-147, for a very complete statement on the possible roles filled by art in society.

[5] Daniel E. Schneider, *The Psychoanalyst and the Artist* (New York, 1962), p. 233.

[6] Albert Guerard, *Literature and Society* (Boston, 1935), p. 349; also see Gotshalk, *Art and Social Order*, p. 213: art is a way to increase the individual's capacity for "mature social action" and to suggest a generalized model for living.

[7] Nietzsche, "Wir Künstler!," from "Zweites Buch," *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft, Werke*, II, 79.

[8] See above, p. 7.

[9] See above, pp. 23-24.

[10] See, for example, Robert N. Wilson, "The Poet in American Society," in R.N. Wilson, ed., *The Arts in Society* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1964), p. 13.

[11] For example, Antonio Candido, "Art et société," *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, XXXVII [New Series, 11th Year] (July-December, 1964), p. 133.

[12] See above, pp. 162, 163-164.

[13] Herbert E. Read, *Art and Society* (New York, 1950, 2nd ed.), p. 72.

[14] See above, for example, pp. 26-27, 28-29, 79-80.

[15] To this end, Kurt Schwitters wrote several articles for *Der Sturm:* for example, "Tran Nummer 11: Deutsche Volkskritik, die Kritik des Wiederaufbaus," XI, v (August, 1920), 70-71; "Tran Nummer 16: Das Leben auf blindem Fusse" [against Paul Westheim, editor of *Das Kunstblatt*] XI, xi/xii (December, 1920), 152-153; "Selbstbestimmungsrecht der Künstler," X, x (January, 1920), 140-141.

[16] See above, p. 46.

[17] See above, pp. 174-175.

[18] See, for example, E[rnst] H. Gombrich, *Meditations on a Hobby Horse and Other Essays on the Theory of Art* (London, 1963), p. 68; Mukerjee, *Social Function of Art*, for example, p. 44; Candido, "Art et société" (1964), pp. 134, 146; contrast these with Geraldine Pelles, *Art, Artists, & Society. Origins of a Modern Dilemma: Painting in England and France, 1750-1850* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1963), who denies the communicative nature of art since responses to it may not be exactly what the artist wants or intends (p. 152)—such an argument must be qualified to apply only to those

artists who are trying to make specific points with their artistic creations, and not to those who wish only to make a generally supportive or condemnatory statement; it is also necessary to determine with whom the artist is seeking to communicate, for his efforts may be directed at a specific audience—at any rate, a blanket statement supporting or denying art as a means of communication is insupportable; another factor to consider is that the artist-intellectual could include, as part of his self-appointed task, educating the public to his means and thereby contribute to his communicability (for example, see Nietzsche, "Künstler und sein Gefolge müssen Schritt halten," No. 168 of *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*, 1, *Werke*, I, 558).

19 Wilson, "Poet in Society," in Wilson, *Arts in Society*, p. 13.

20 Duncan, *Language and Literature*, pp. 5, 8, 72, and see above, p. 190 n. 6.

21 See, for example, Nietzsche, "Das Unvollständige als das Wirksame," No. 178, and "Das Unvollständige als künstlerisches Reizmittel," No. 199, in *Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*, 1, *Werke*, I, 562 and 566-567, respectively.

22 Robert Brustein, *The Theatre of Revolt: An Approach to the Modern Drama* (Boston, Toronto, 1964), p. 416, my emphasis.

23 Nietzsche, "Wir Künstler!," from "Zweites Buch," *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft*, *Werke*, II, 79.

APPENDIX A:

POEMS[1]

Arp, Hans.

Untitled, from "Die Wolkenpumpe," 1920

an allen enden
stehen jetzt dadaisten auf aber es sind
im grunde nur vermummte defregger[2]
sie ahmen den zungenschlag und das zungenzucken
der wolkenpumpe nach
ein fürchterliches mene tekel zeppelin wird ihnen
bereitet werden
und die dadaistische hauskapelle wird
ihnen was blasen
man wird sie den raupen zum frass hinwerfen
und ihnen bärte an falsche stellen pflanzen
an sternenlassos werden sie baumeln
DIE ORIGINALDADAISTEN SIND NUR DIE
SPIEGELGASSEDADAISTEN[3]
man hüte sich vor nachahmungen
man verlange in den buchgeschäften nur spiegelgasse-
dadaisten oder wenigstens werke die mit aquadada-
tinta vom dadaistischen rasputin und spiritus rector
tzar tristan[4] genetzt worden sind

Untitled, from "The Cloud-Pump"

At all ends
Dadaists now stand up, but they are
basically only masked Defreggers[5]
they imitate the rhythm and twitching
of the cloud-pump's tongue
a frightful mene tekel zeppelin will be
prepared for them
and the Dadaist band will
blow you something unheard of
and they'll be thrown to the maggots
and they'll have beards planted in the wrong places

and they'll dangle from lassos made of stars
THE ONLY ORIGINAL DADAISTS ARE THE
SPEIGELGASSE DADAISTS[6]
beware of imitations
only Spiegelgasse Dadaists should be asked for in
book stores or at least works tinged with aquaDada
ink by the Dadaist Rasputin and
spiritus rector Tzar Tristan[7]

(from Hans Arp, *Gesammelte Gedichte [I]: Gedichte, 1903-1939,* ed. M. Arp-Hagenbach and P. Schifferli [Wiesbaden, 1963], p. 57).

Huelsenbeck, Richard.

Claperston stirbt an Fischvergiftung

Sie haben keine Augen
Ihre Bäuche sind grosse Kupfertrommeln
Die Leichenwagen durchziehen ihr Ohr mit heulen und
Jammern
O – o sehet die Nasen die an den Türflügeln hängen
Wir halten den Faust in der Hand und singen die Wacht
am Rhein
Wir nehmen die Suppenterrine und verstumme in Ehrfurcht
Die Flamme schlug aus der Stadt und die Fische stehen in
Reih und Glied
Sehet die Postbeamten und den Busen der Primadonna
Die Geistlichen haben sich organisiert
Die Ascheneimer haben sich organisiert
Trumpf ist der Mord
Darum sei gebenedeit unter den Weibern
Alter Junge ['s ist Zeit –'s ist Zeit]

Claperston Dies of Fish Poisoning

They have no eyes
Their stomachs are large copper drums
The hearses pass through their ears with shrieks and
wailing
O – o, look at the noses that hang from the wings of the door

We hold *Faust* in hand and sing "The Watch
on the Rhine"
We take the soup tureen and awe makes us silent
The flame flared from the city and the fish stand in
formation
Look at the postal clerk and the bosom of the prima donna
The priests have organized
The garbage cans have organized
Murder is trump
Thus be blessed among women
Old boy ['tis time—'tis time]

(from Huelsenbeck, *Dada,* p. 205).

Hymne

O du Metallvogel der du im Zeichen des Krebses flatterst
O du Transparentherz und Kaffeekanne über den blauen
Zinnen meiner Burg
O du Metallvogel und Lämmergeier o du Aufstieg meiner
Seele aus einem Knockabout
Awu Awu burrubuh burrubuh die Irren sind los und der
Papst geht hoch
Das Auge fällt aus und die Pfeife zerbrach
Littipih littipih o du sanft gefiedertes Händepaar meiner Seele
O du Pferd meiner Seele du Fagott meiner Braut
O du Riechwurz des Esels du Schlangenhaut
Ajo doldeldoh ajo dodeledodeldoh
Grosse messingene Töpfe fallen aus den Kaminen
Aus den Fenstern springen die Soubretten und schrein
Tonpfeifen im Mund kommen die Kadaver die
Universitätsprofessoren
Wie Bosketts wachsen die Leichname der Embryos um meine
Stirn
Trächtig ist meine Stirn von sieben Kühen und sie hanget
weit über
Weit über hanget sie—o du verfluchter Lämmergeier
Denn siehe denn siehe ich bin der Dämon
Oho jodeldoh oho rataplan
Meine Schenkel sind Obstkähne
Fliegenwedel aber sind meine Arme
Littipih littipih denn siehe—denn siehe

Aus den Eisenbahnzūgen klettern die Moskitos den Stock in
der Hand
Auf den Pinguinen reiten die schōnen Turnvereine
O schwing den Arm o schwing das Bein
O du Metallvogel meiner Seele—o du verfluchter Lāmmergeier

Hymn

O thou metal bird who flutters under the sign of the crab
O thou transparent heart and coffee pot above the blue
turrets of my castle
O thou metal bird and vulture o thou ascension of my
soul of a knockabout
Awu awu burrubuh burrubuh the insane are turned loose and the
Pope becomes mad
The eye falls out and the pipe broke
Littipih littipih o you gently feathered hands of my soul
O thou horse of my soul thou bassoon of my bride
O thou aromatic herb of the jackass thou snakeskin
ajo doldeldoh ajo dodeledodeldoh
Huge brass pots fall out of the chimneys
The soubrettes jump out of the windows and cry
With clay pipes in their mouths the corpses of the
Professors draw near
Like thickets the corpses of the embryos grow around my
Forehead
My forehead is pregnant with seven cows and it hangs
over precariously
It hangs over precariously—O thou damned vulture
Then behold then behold I am the demon
oho jodeldoh oho rataplan
My thighs are barges filled with fruit
But my arms are fly brushes
Littipih littipih then behold—then behold
The mosquitoes climb out of the railroad with sticks in
hand
The pretty gymnastic clubs ride on the penguins
O swing your arm o swing your leg
O thou metal bird of my soul—o thou damned vulture

(from Huelsenbeck, *Dada*, pp. 205-206).

Mehring, Walter.

Dadayama [1919]

??? Was ist DADAyama ???
DADAyama ist
von Bahnhöfen nur durch ein Doppelsalto erreichbar
Hic salto mortale/
Jetzt oder nirgends/
DADAyama bringt
das Blut in Wallung so wie
die Volksseele zum Kochen
im melting pot/
(teils Stierkampfarena—teils Rotfrontmeeting —teils
Nationalversammlung)—
1/2 Goldblech—1/2 Eisen versilbert
plus Mehrwert
$\frac{\qquad}{\infty}$ = Alltag

-halbseiden—Tout-le-mond: Die Halbwelt auf
Eiffeltürmen
in den Tiefen des Lasters bei Sekt, bei Kaviar
und Opium . . .
of the . . . by the . . . for the people/
Jede Stadt
    hat ihre DADAkulmiNation-
In
DADAyama kulminieren alle
    Städte (Sodom, Lourdes, Potsdam—)
    Revolutionen, Terror . . .
    Unzucht und Heimweh . . .
Darum:
    Jedermann keinmal in
    DADAyama . . .
(DADAyama napoli e mori!)

Dadayama

??? What is DADAyama ???
DADAyama is
to be reached from railroad stations only by a double somersault
Hic salto mortale/

Now or never/
DADAyama makes
the blood boil like it
enrages the crowd
in the melting pot/
(partly bullfight arena—partly Red Front meeting—partly
National Assembly)—
1/2 gold plate—1/2 silver-plated iron
plus surplus value
$\frac{\qquad}{\infty}$ = Everyday life

-cheap—Tout-le-monde: The demimonde on
Eiffel Towers
in the depths of vice amid champagne, caviar,
and opium . . .
of the . . . by the . . . for the people/
Every city
has its DADAculmiNation-
In
DADAyama culminate all
cities (Sodom, Lourdes, Potsdam—)
Revolutions, terror . . .
Fornication and homesickness . . .
Therefore:
Everyone never in
DADAyama . . .
(DADAyama napoli e mori!)

(from Huelsenbeck, *Dada,* pp. 199-200).

Gloria in Excelsis

Seit Du durch Dein Märtyrertum
Besiegelt hast ihr Ketzertum,
Das Dich verstiess,
Als man im Stall gebettet Dich
Der Engelsgruss verkündet Dich
Gloria in excelsis!

Seit sich die Kirche hat erbarmt,
Den Inquisiten hat umarmt
und bluten liess,
Seit sie mit Blut ihr Urteil schrieb,

Die Menschheit unerlōset blieb
    Gloria in excelsis!

Seit man geglaubt ans Paradies
Durch Krieg, Vertiertheit, Finsternis
    Und Syphilis
Ward hingeraffet Jud und Christ,
Dein Ratschlag unerforschlich ist!
    Gloria in excelsis!

Gloria in Excelsis

Since you sealed their heresy
With your martyrdom,
    That disowned you
When in the stable they bedded you down
The angel's salutation announced you
    Gloria in excelsis!

Since the church has shown mercy,
Has embraced the victim of the Inquisition
    And allowed his blood to be shed,
Since it wrote its judgment with blood
Mankind remained unredeemed
    Gloria in excelsis!

Since one has believed in Paradise
Through war, bestiality, darkness,
    And syphilis
Jew and Christian
Your counsel is inscrutable!
    Gloria in excelsis!

(from Mehring, *Ketzerbrevier,* p. 108).

Schwitters, Kurt.

Lanke tr gl
skerzo aus meiner soonate in uurlauten [1919]
[scherzo from my sonata in primitive sounds]

lanke tr gl
pe pe pe pe pe
ooka ooka ooka ooka
lanke tr gl
pii pii pii pii pii
züüka züüka züüka züüka
lanke tr gl
rmp
rnf
lanke tr gl
ziiuu lentrl
lümpf tümpf trl
lanke tr gl
rumpf tilf too
lanke tr gl
ziiuu lentrl
lümpf tümpf trl
lanke tr gl
pe pe pe pe pe
ooka ooka ooka ooka
lanke tr gl
pii pii pii pii pii
züüka züüka züüka züüka
lanke tr gl
rmp
rnf
lanke tr gl?

(from Huelsenbeck, *Dada,* pp. 173-174).

An Anna Blume [1919]

O du, Geliebte meiner siebenundzwanzig Sinne, ich
liebe dir!—Du deiner dich dir, ich dir, du mir.
—Wir?
Das gehört (beiläufig) nicht hierher.

Wer bist du, ungezähltes Frauenzimmer? Du bist
— —bist du?—Die Leute sagen, du wärest,—lass
sie sagen, sie wissen nicht, wie der Kirchturm steht.
Du trägst den Hut auf deinen Füssen und wanderst
auf die Hände, auf den Händen wanderst du.
Hallo, deine roten Kleider, in weisse Falten zersägt.
Rot liebe ich Anna Blume, rot liebe ich dir!—Du
deiner dich dir, ich dir, du mir.—Wir?
Das gehört (beiläufig) in die kalte Glut.
Rot Blume, rote Anna Blume, wie sagen die Leute?
Preisfrage: 1.) Anna Blume hat ein Vogel.[8]
2.) Anna Blume ist rot.
3.) Welche Farbe hat der Vogel?
Blau ist die Farbe deines gelben Haares.
Rot ist das Girren deines grünen Vogels.
Du schlichtes Mädchen im Alltagskleid, du liebes
grünes Tier, ich liebe dir!—Du deiner dich dir, ich
dir, du mir,—Wir?
Das gehört (beiläufig) in die Glutenkiste.
Anna Blume! Anna, a-n-n-a, ich träufle deinen
Namen. Dein Name tropft wie weiches Rindertalg.
Weisst du es, Anna, weisst du es schon?
Man kann dich auch von hinten lesen, und du, du
Herrlichste von allen, du bist von hinten wie von
vorne: "a-n-n-a."
Rindertalg träufelt streicheln über meinen Rücken.
Anna Blume, du tropfes Tier, ich liebe dir!

To Anna Flower

Oh you, sweetheart of my twenty-seven senses, I
love you!—You your you to you, I to you, you to me.
—We?
That (incidentally) does not belong here.
Who are you, unnumbered wench? You are
— —are you? —The people say, you were,—let
them talk, they do not know how the church tower stands.
You wear your hat on your feet and wander
on your hands, on your hands you wander.
Hullo, your red clothes, sawed into white folds.
I love red Anna Flower, I love you red!—You
your you to you, I to you, you to me.—We?

That (incidentally) belongs in the cold embers.
Red flower, red Anna Flower, what do the people say?
The sixty-four dollar question:
1.) Anna Flower has a bird.[9]
2.) Anna Flower is red.
3.) What color is the bird?
Blue is the color of your yellow hair.
Red is the cooing of your green bird.
You plain girl is workaday dress, you lovely
green animal, I love you!--You your you to you, I
to you, you to me,—We?
That (incidentally) belongs where the embers are.
Anna Flower! Anna, a-n-n-a, I let your name trickle from my
lips. Your name drips like soft tallow.
Do you know it, Anna, do you know it already?
You can also be read from behind, and you, you
Most magnificent of all, you are the same from behind as from
in front: "a-n-n-a."
Tallow trickles caressingly over my back.
Anna Flower, you simple creature, I love you!

(from Huelsenbeck, *Dada,* pp. 174-175).

NOTES

[1] The translations are my own, greatly assisted by Rainer H. Sell, Instructor in the Department of German, University of Illinois.

[2] The reference is to Franz von Defregger (1835-1921), a German painter who was a professor in the Art Academy in Munich from 1878 to 1910, who was primarily occupied with sentimental, idealized paintings of peasant life in the Tirol.

[3] The Café Voltaire, where the Dada movement began, was located on the Spiegelgasse in Zurich.

[4] This is a play on the name of the Dadaist Tristan Tzara.

[5] See note 2 above.

[6] See note 3 above.

[7] See note 4 above.

[8] In the context, this expression is a double entendre, the colloquial meaning being that Anna Blume is slightly touched.

[9] See note 8 above.

APPENDIX B: ILLUSTRATIONS





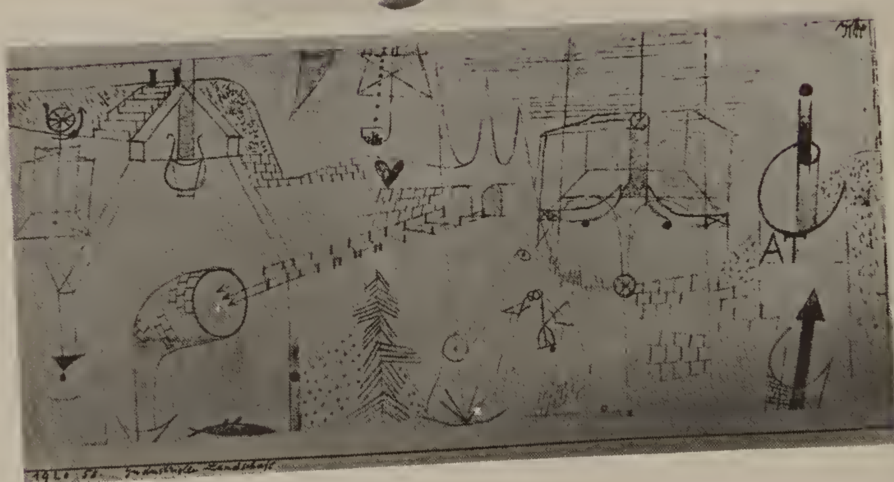


Illustration 9

Right: Hans Arp, "The Navel Bottle," 1923.
Center: Hans Arp, "Moustache Hat," ca. 1918.
Left: Paul Klee, "Industrial Landscape," 1920.



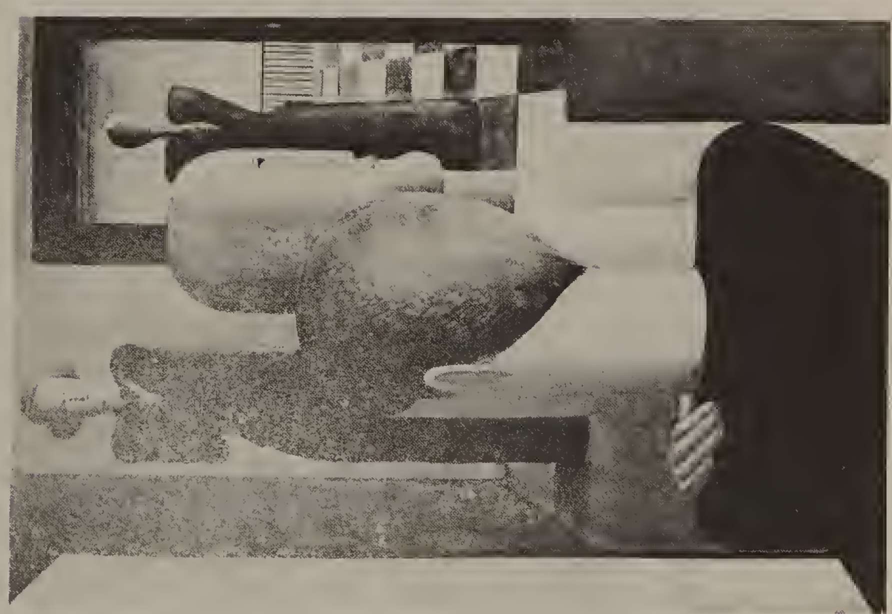
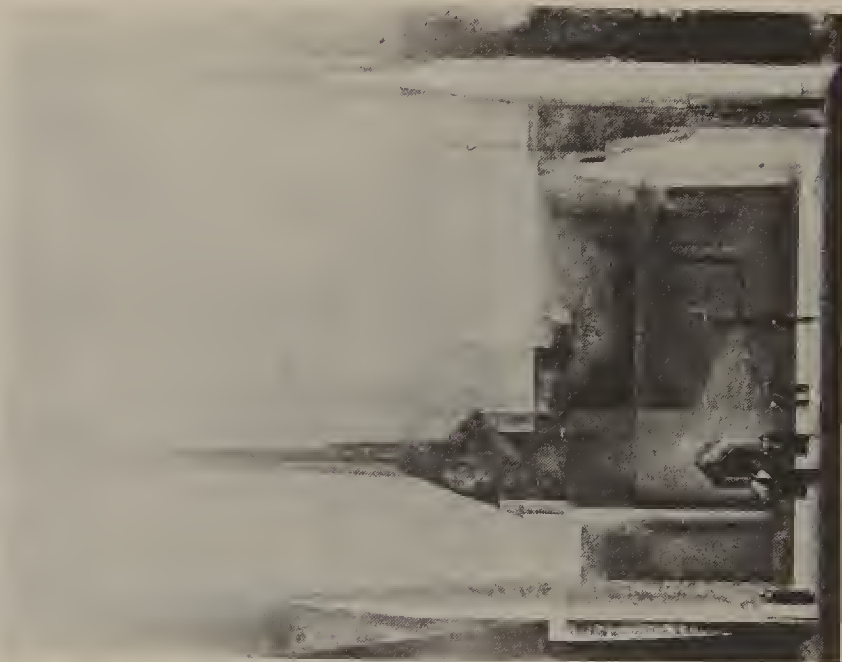


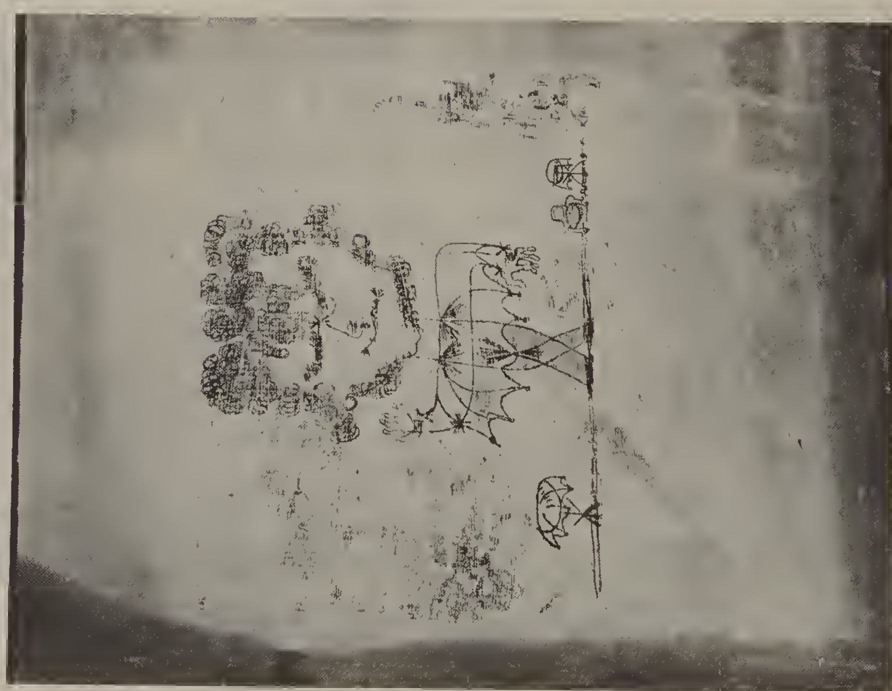
Illustration 10: Oskar Schlemmer

Right: "Women's Stairs," 1924.
Left: "Römisches," 1925.

Illustration 11

Right: Lyonel Feininger, "Gelmeroda IX," 1926.
Left: Paul Klee, "Sganarelle," 1922.





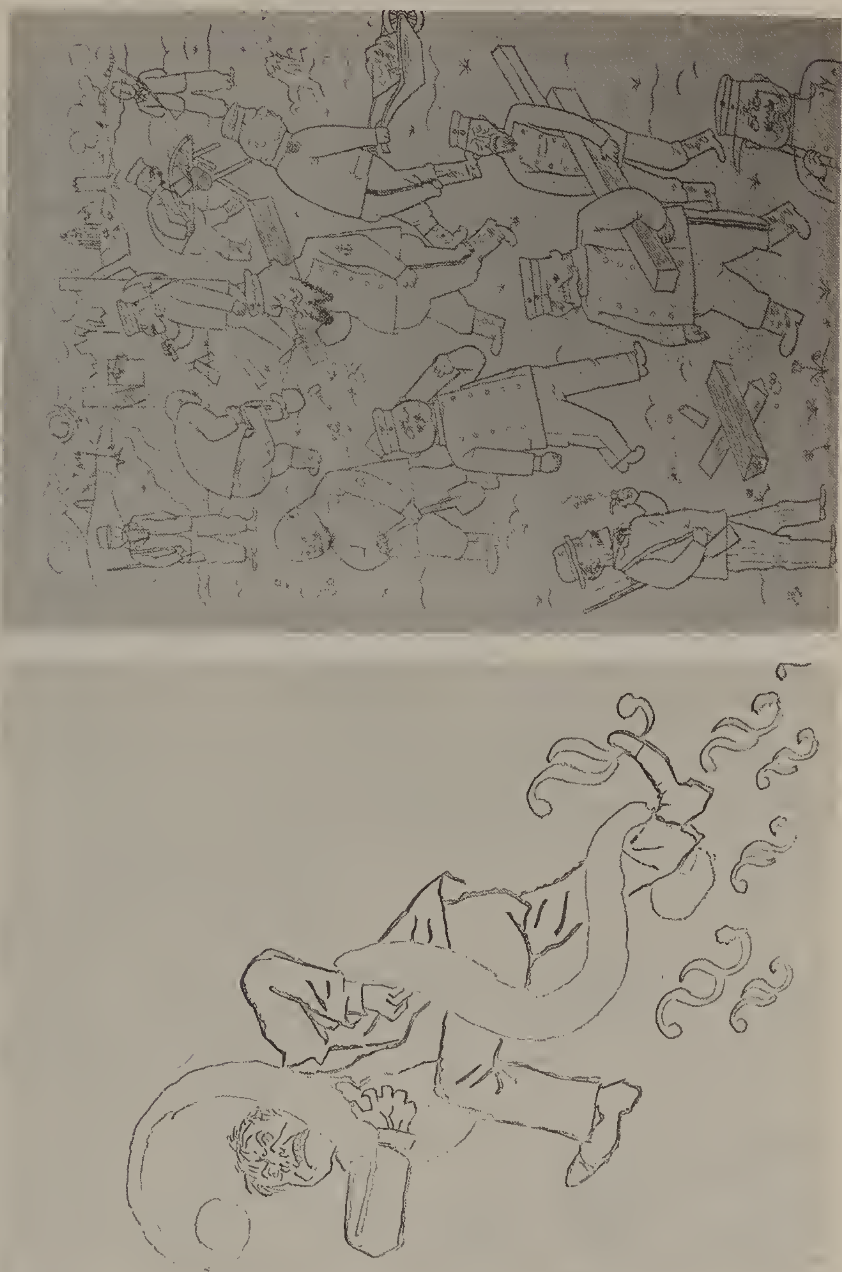
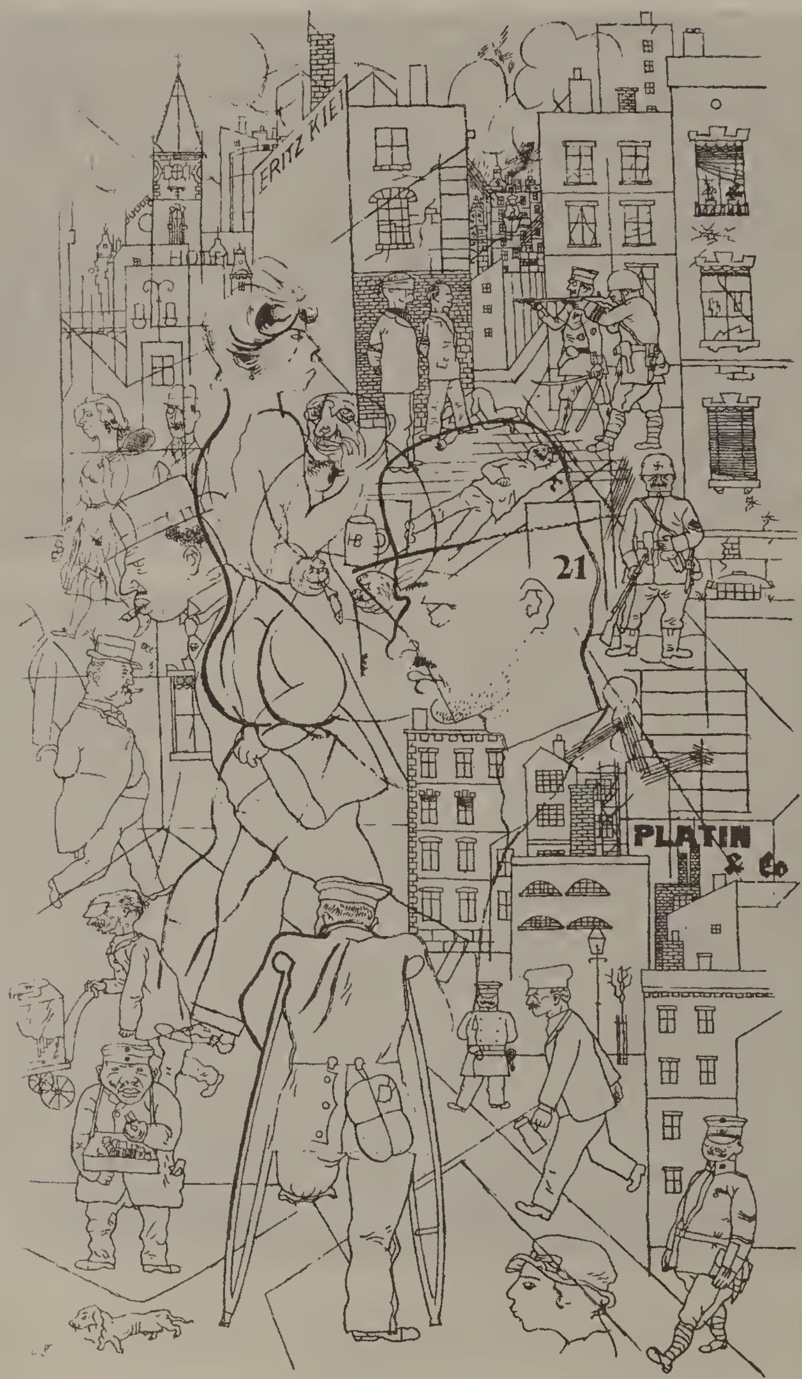


Illustration 12: George Grosz

Right: "Reconstruction," 1919.
Left: "Order under the Law," ca. 1927.

Illustration 13

George Grosz, "Cross-Section," 1920.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

(PARTIALLY ANNOTATED)

The Bibliography has been divided into seven sections. This has been done for reasons of clarity and ease of listing. The sections are: I. Bibliographical and Research Aids; II. Archival and Unpublished Document Collections; III. The Dadaists; IV. The Bauhaus; V. Germany—Art and Society; VI. Historical and Art Historical Literature; VII. Theoretical Works—Background. The Bibliography is not, and was not intended to be, comprehensive, except to approach comprehensiveness with reference to the Berlin Dadaists and the Bauhaus in Weimar, in general terms. Descriptive or critical remarks have been made where they were deemed worthwhile or essential, in the hope that they would make at least some parts of the Bibliography useful in a specific way.

I. Bibliographical and Research Aids (the general historical aids are excluded, such as the American Historical Association's Guide). In addition to these works note should be made of bibliographies in the anthologies and document collections on Dada and the Bauhaus.

Bolliger, Hans, ed. *Dokumentations-Bibliothek zur Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts.* Catalogue of Auction No. 86 held in Bern, Switzerland, June 5, 1957, by the concern Klipstein and Kornfeld (formerly Gutekunst and Klipstein). Bern, 1958. Not complete, but a significant bibliography of modern art movements and tendencies, with many rare items listed.

Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, ed. *Jahrbuch der Bibliotheken, Archive und Dokumentationsstellen der Deutsche Demokratische Republik.* Jahrgang II, 1960/61. Berlin, 1962. An overview of libraries, archives, and depositories, indicating specialties and major holdings, in East Germany.

Gebhardt, Walter, "Das 'Sturm-Archiv' Herwarth Waldens," Sonderdruck aus dem Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft, II/1958. Stuttgart: Alfred Kroner Verlag. This article deals with the Storm Archive, now located in West Berlin, including an indication of its holdings. For further reference, see below, p. 359-360.

Gittig, Heinz, "Die Publikationen des Malik-Verlages: Eine Bibliographie," *Marginalien,* No. 15 (August, 1964), pp. 32-52. A bibliography of books and periodicals published by Wieland Herzefelde's various publishing houses: Verlag Neue Jugend, 1916-1917, Malik-Verlag, 1917-1939 (both in Berlin), and the Aurora Verlag in New York, 1945-1947. There are some minor errors, for example, a confusion of the monthly and weekly periodicals *Neue Jugend.* (The magazine *Marginalien* is published in East Berlin, subtitled *Blãtter der Pierckheimer Gessellschaft.*)

Jahrbuch der Deutschen Museen und Kunsthistorischen Institute. Vol. 1. Hamburg: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Co., 1959. An overview of museums, special libraries and collections, and universities with specialties in art history and related subjects. The major holdings of each are indicated. This volume refers only to the German Federal Republic (West Germany.)

Kõrner, Josef. *Bibliographisches Handbuch des deutschen Schrifttums.* Bern: A. Francke Verlag, 1939-3rd ed., revised and enlarged. The standard bibliography for German literature.

Kuhn, Charles L. *German Expressionism and Abstract Art: The Harvard Collections.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957. A catalogue of works in the specific field, one section of Harvard's Busch-Reisinger Museum of Germanic Culture, compiled by the Museum's Director.

Kunstverein Hannover. *Die Zwanziger Jahrc in Hannover: Bildende Kunst, Literatur, Theater, Tanz, Architektur, 1916-1933.* Catalogue of an Exhibit held from August 12 to September 30, 1962. A very extensive, descriptive catalogue. Although many difficult-to-find periodicals are herein described, no record was kept of the source of the loans, and thus one is unable to locate these items through the Art Association.

Kunstverein St. Gallen. *Malende Dichter, dichtende Maler.* Zurich: Peter Schifferli Verlags-AG, "Die Arche," 1957. Prepared for an exhibit held from August 3 to October 20, 1957.

Nicaise, Librarie. *Cubisme, Futurisme, Dada, Surréalisme.* Paris, 1960. Catalogue No. 10: Books and manuscripts, reviews, documents. Indicates many rare items which might otherwise be overlooked.

Raabe, Paul. *Die Zeitschriften und Sammlungen des literarischen Expressionismus: Repertorien der Zeitschriften, Jahrbücher, Anthologien, Sammelwerke, Schriftenreihen und Almanache 1910-1921. Repertorien zur Deutschen Literaturgeschichte,* Vol. I. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964. This volume was written and compiled by the director of the library of the Schiller National Museum, who is among the most knowledgeable individuals dealing with Expressionist literature. A brief, critical introduction, a listing of periodicals, books, etc., with a description of programs and a listing of contributors, a title index, publisher index, and contributor index help make this an essential reference work. Locations for most of the works listed are also given.

———, H. L. Greve, with Ingrid Grüninger. *Expressionismus: Literatur und Kunst, 1910-1923.* Catalogue No. 7. Catalogue of an exhibit held by the Gcrman Literary Archive of the Schiller National Museum, Marbach on the Neckar, 1960. An extensive catalogue, with an index of proper names (individuals, groups, movements, etc.), that has been the starting point for many recent studies of German Expressionism. Included are biographical sketches, some letters and letter excerpts, and excerpts from various essays and manifestoes, in addition to bibliographies for individuals and groups.

Schlawe, Fritz. *Literarische Zeitschriften [Vol. II.] 1910-1933.* Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962. In great part, complementary to the book by Raabe, with more historically oriented comments.

Stappenbacher, Susi. "Die deutschen literarischen Zeitschriften in den Jahren 1918-1925 als Ausdruck geistiger Strõmungen der Zeit." Unpublished Doctoral dissertation; Friedrich-Alexander-Universitãt (Erlangen-Nürnberg), 1961. Some titles are included which are not encompassed by Raabe's book.

Wallraf-Richartz-Museum [Library], Cologne. "Zeitschriften der Kunst- und Museumbibliothek." Bound typescript.

II. Archival and Unpublished Document Collections.

Academy of Arts (Akademie der Künste), Berlin, GFR (West). Located in the Academy is a section devoted to George Grosz, the major public biographically relevant collection at present. In addition to a number of drawings, collages, and books from the library of Grosz, there is a very complete collection of books and articles on Grosz; all items are indexed and cross-indexed. Of major importance for this study were:

1. 17 letters from George Grosz to Robert Bell (GG No. 29). 1-1913; 5-1914; 6-1915; 3-1916; 2-1917. Bell was a long-time friend of Grosz, and the letters seem very candid outpourings from the pen of the human-being Grosz. The scanty number limits their usefulness, and it is possible that too much weight has been given them in this study.

2. Postcards, GG No. 36—temporary. Several packets: one contains cards from Ulrich Becker to Otto Schmalhausen, the brother-in-law of Grosz, and to Grosz; another 29 cards, 1911-1935, almost all to Robert Bell; another 12 cards written by Grosz and his wife to Otto and Lotte (Charlotte) Schmalhausen from Paris and southern France, 1925-1927. GG No. 39—temporary. Three packets of cards, apparently intended to serve as motifs; included are some to Robert Bell. The postcards give a broader picture of Grosz, but were not of major significance for this study.

Bauhaus Archive (Bauhaus-Archiv, BD), Berlin, formerly Darmstadt, GFR (West). The basis of the collection is an uncatalogued (as of May, 1966) quantity of materials presented to the Archive by Walter Gropius, designated generally as the Gropius Collection (Sammlung Gropius, SG). For this study, the most important part of the collection proved to be the incomplete set of Minutes of the Masters' Council Meetings, and a scanty number of letters by and to members of the Bauhaus.

Of great usefulness were eight scrapbooks of clippings from newspapers and periodicals: "Zeitungsarchiv: Zeitung- und Zeitschriftausschnitte"—1. February 3, 1917, to August [actually, September 19], 1920; 2. October, 1920 to July, 1922; 3. July, 1922, to May, 1924; 4. June, 1924, to November, 1924; 5. November, 1924, to March, 1925; 6. March 10, 1925, to.... (the last clipping is from November 4, 1932, about four years after Gropius had left the Bauhaus); there are also two scrapbooks dealing with the Bauhaus Exhibit and Week in the Summer of 1923.

In addition to the pertinent parts of the Stenographic Reports of the Diet in Thuringia, there are some documents having to do with the Work-Council for Art and Gropius's participation in the Council.

The specialized library of the Archive is devoted to the historical development of the ideas behind the Bauhaus: the Arts and Crafts Movement, the Werkbund, Industrial Designing, and Modern Architecture. There are limited but pertinent supplementary books on history, sociology, and philosophy. There is a virtually complete collection of printed materials dealing with the Bauhaus and its participants, including exhibition catalogues.

In the Archive may be found the finest European collection of prints by the Bauhaus Masters. There are also many representative items from the various Bauhaus workshops. Limited facilities at present significantly restrict displays, which are supplemented by several books of photographs of the holdings of the Archive.

Further indication of the Archive's holdings may be found in Hans M. Wingler, *Das Bauhaus* (see below, Bibliography, Section IV-A, p. 234.

The Houghton Library of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. The Papers of Lyonel Feininger, bMS Ger 146 (FP). No. 1445 is four volumes of the *Lyonel Feininger Correspondence Transcripts*, ed. Julia Feininger (n.p., n.d.), typed transcripts of the Correspondence of the Lyonel Feininger Family and Friends, 1905-1946; volumes I (1905-1917) and II (1918-1927) were used for this study. On the basis of comparisons with some of the original letters in the collection, questions

may be raised as to the completeness and accuracy of the transcriptions. Note should be made that a quantity of correspondence (bMS Ger 146.1) greater than that now available for use is restricted until after the death of Mrs. Feininger. Each volume used numbers about 500 pages, most of the letters being from Feininger to his wife.

There is an index to the collection, compiled by the library staff: *The Papers of Lyonel Feininger deposited by the Busch-Reisinger Museum* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Houghton Library, 1964); the index entries refer only to names and dates.

The Museum of Modern Art, New York City, New York. In addition to the art collection, there is a fine library in the Museum. Among the books are copies of some of the rare periodicals referred to in this study. Documentary materials are not extensive.

Arp, [Hans] . *Scrapbook,* 2 vols. N.p., n.d. Photographs of the work of Arp.

Bauhaus Scrapbook. N.p., n.d.

Dada Documents [Binder's title] , 2 vols. N.p., n.d. Included in this scrapbook of documents are exhibition programs, invitations to Dada "performances," some newspaper and periodical clippings, and some pamphlets. All are hard-to-locate items.

Sidney Janis Gallery, New York. *Dada, 1917-1923,* 2 vols., New York, n.d. A collection of photostats from the Janis Gallery exhibit held in 1950.

Schiller National Museum and German Literary Archive (Schiller-Nationalmuseum und Deutsches Literaturarchiv), Marbach on the Neckar, GFR (West). In addition to the archival holdings, there is a fine library of Expressionist literature. There are facilities for the reproduction of materials. The items noted were relevant for this study (the numbers refer either to individual items or a collection of items.).

"Der Familie Baader aus Stuttgart. Zum 5. März 1948/Ein Geschenk von Johannes Baader aus Landau an der Isar" (48.2181; 48.2182).
A book, handwritten, containing family and personal history.

Letters [and Postcards] from Baader ("Briefe von ihm . . . .," 57.751; 57.752; 60.352).

Baader, Johannes A.—Collection. Literary estate ("Nachlass," 61.17) consisting of letters, essays, notices, excerpts, from works, placards, newspaper clippings, etc., in one sheaf and two envelopes.

Poems ("Gedichte," 57.754) in one folder.

Various Writings ("Vermischte Schriften, Verschiedenes," 57.753; 57.755; 57.756; 57.757) in one folder.

Brodnitz Collection (Sammlung Brodnitz, 63.619). In this collection are approximately sixteen letters from Hugo Ball to Käthe Froelich-Brodnitz, a close friend of Ball's.

Becher, Johannes A. Letters and Postcards (57.4262; 60.602; 63.35; 64.1029).

State Archive—Weimar (Staatsarchiv Weimar, STAW), formerly Thüringisches Landeshauptarchiv, GDR (East). As a state archive, use of the facilities is dependent upon permission from the Ministry of the Interior, East Berlin. There are reproduction

facilities; large-scale microfilming is done on an exchange basis.

State Bauhaus, Documents (Akten des Staatlichen Bauhaus), 1919-1925. A comprehensive documentary collection, including about 400 folders. The copies of the Minutes of the Masters' Council Meetings are to a great extent complementary to those in Darmstadt (temp. No. 184, comprising three foldcrs), but the two combined are *by no means complete*. There is an index to the Bauhaus documents that was being revised in the Spring of 1966: thus, in this study, folder numbers above 43 have been indicated as temporary—there will be records of old and new numbers in the Archive's index. The documents are not paginated; folders will be extensively and accurately described in the new index. The gaps in the Bauhaus records may eventually be filled by private collections; one major cause of the gaps was the destruction during World War II of the building in which the documents were housed.

State College for Fine Arts (Staatliche Hochschule für bildende Kunst), Weimar. Documents in this file are much more extensive than those in the Bauhaus collection, due to the longevity of the Academy. There is a card file for the items in this collection.

Thuringian Ministry for Public Education (Thuringisches Ministerium für Volksbildung), Weimar. Section C II—Art Institutes. This category concerns all art institutes in the state *(Land)* Thuringia. For this study, its importance was primarily with reference to the questions of the re-establishment of the old Art Academy and the more general situation in Weimar.

Personal Documents. There are folders on each of the individuals who were Former Handicrafts-Masters in the Bauhaus. They contain primarily copies of contracts and notes concerning wage increases and vacations, and sometimes items of relevance regarding departures from the Bauhaus, such as National Socialist inquiries regarding Kandinsky.

Storm Archive—Manuscript Section, State Library of the . . . Prussian Cultural Possessions, formerly the Prussian State Library (Sturm-Archiv—Handschriftenabteilung: Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, frühere Preussische Staatsbibliothek), Berlin (West). This Archive was recently transferred from Marburg, where the part of the State Library in the possession of West Germany is still temporarily housed.

The collection is of letters and manuscripts pertaining to Herwarth Walden and his circle. See Bibliography, Section I: Gebhardt, "Das 'Sturm-Archiv,' " to which article there has been added a handwritten, supplementary page in the Archive. Some of the materials in the Archive are published in the catalogue of the Storm exhibit held in the National Gallery in the Orangerie of Charlottenburg Palace, Berlin, in 1961: see Bibliography, Section V, pp. 251-252.

Those papers considered with reference to this study were (all cards and letters are to Herwarth Walden):

Feininger, Lyonel. 1 folder containing 5 letters and postcards, 1916-1917.

Friedlaender, Salomo (Mynona). 1 folder containing 12 letters, 5 letter-cards (Briefkarten), and 19 postcards, 1904-1917.

Itten, Johannes. 1 folder with 3 letters, 1916.

Klee, Paul. 1 folder with 15 letters and 6 postcards, 1916-1918.

Mehring, Walter. 1 folder containing 6 letters and postcards, 1915-1916.

Muche, Georg. 1 folder containing 14 letters and 2 postcards, 1915-1917.

Schreyer, Lothar. 3 folders containing 217 letters, 2 letter-cards, 51 postcards, and 12 telegrams, 1916-1924.

Schwitters, Kurt. 1 folder with 1 letter, apparently dated December 1, 1915 (the date should be sometime during 1919 or 1920), and 1 postcard of 1919.

III. The Dadaists. Except for Anthologies, if a choice had to be made between listing an item in the General or Individual category, the latter was chosen.

A. General.

1. Collections and Anthologies.

Ball, Hugo, ed. *Cabaret Voltaire: Eine Sammlung künstlerischer und literarischer Beiträge*. Zurich: Meierei, [1916]. Articles, drawings, and photographs from the first days of Dada in Switzerland.

Dada Documents: See Bibliography, Section II, Museum of Modern Art, p. 214.

Huelsenbeck, Richard, ed. *Dada Almanach: Im Auftrag des Zentralamts der deutschen Dada-Bewegung*. Berlin: Erich Reiss Verlag, 1920. Collection of articles by Dadaists and about Dada. Reprint: New York: Something Else Press, 1966.

____. *Dada: Eine literarische Dokumentation*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag GmbH, 1964. Encompasses the three major phases of Dada: Zurich, Berlin, and Paris, and also Hannover and Cologne. Articles, essays, and poems from then and now by Dadaists and associates. A good bibliography by the director of the library of the Museum of Modern art, Bernard Karpel, is included.

Sidney Janis Gallery: See Bibliography, Section II, Museum of Modern Art, p. 214.

Kunstverein für die Rheinlande und Westfalen, Düsseldorf. *Dada: Dokumente einer Bewegung*. Catalogue of an exhibit held from September 5 to October 19, 1958. Indicates the items displayed at a very comprehensive exhibit, and includes reflections on Dada by Hans Arp, Richard Huelsenbeck, Max Ernst, Man Ray, and others, written for the catalogue.

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Der blutige Ernst; subtitle added with No. 3: *Satirische Wochenschrift.* I, 1-6 (complete). Berlin, 1919. Nos. 1-2, ed. John Hoexter; Nos. 3-5; ed. Carl Einstein and George Grosz; No. 6, ed. C. Einstein.

Bulletin D. 1 number only. Cologne, 1919. Ed. Johannes Theodor Baargeld and Max Ernst. Location: Museum of Modern Art, original and reproduction.

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Der Gegner, Blätter zur Kritik der Zeit; subtitle discarded with I, x/xii. I-III, iii. Halle (I, i-I, vi), Leipzig (I, vii), Berlin-Halensee (I, viii/ix-III, iii), April, 1919-September 27, 1922. I, ed. Karl Otten and Julian Gomperz; II-III, iii, ed. J. Gomperz and Wieland Herzfelde.

Der Gegner, Wochenschrift. III, xviii. Berlin-Halensee, first week of July, 1924. Ed. Helmut Herzfeld (that is, John Heartfield) (?) Location: Private.

Jedermann sein eigener Fussball, Illustrierte Halbmonatsschrift. 1 number only. Berlin-Leipzig, February 15, 1919. Ed. Wieland Herzfelde.

Merz. Irregular, Nos. 1-11 as periodical publications, then as book publications. Hannover, January, 1923-1932. Ed. Kurt Schwitters. See above p. 70 n. 51; No. 3 is a lithograph folio by Schwitters; No. 5 is a lithograph folio by Arp. Location: Museum of Modern Art, Nos. 1-3, 5, 6, 9/9, 10, 11; Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Hannover, GFR (West), Nos. 2, 4, 7, 8/9, 11; Deutsche Bücherei, Leipzig, GDR (East), Nos. 1-9, 12, 14-19.

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Die Pleite, Illustrierte Halbmonatsschrift; subtitle for No. 10/11 is *Satirisches Kampfblatt.* Nos. 1-11, complete. Berlin-Leipzig (1-7), Zurich (only a cover for Berlin [-Halensee(?)] 8-10/11, 1919-June, 1924). Ed. Wieland Herzfelde and George Grosz, names first appearing on No. 5; No. 7 ed. G. Grosz and John Heartfield; no editors indicated for Nos. 9-11. In place of No. 2 appeared a pamphlet by Wieland Herzfelde, *Schutzhaft;* see below, Bibliography, Section III-B, p. 225.

Schall und Rauch (1). I, ii-vi (complete; No. i was missing). Berlin, I, ii: October, 1920-February, 1921. Ed. H. von Wolzogen (?). Location: Deutsche Bücherei,

Leipzig, GDR (East).

Schall und Rauch (2). Nos. 3 and 5. [Berlin?] 3: February, 1920; 5: April, 1920. Ed. Heinz Herald; layout by John Heartfield, for No. 5 with George Grosz. Location: No. 3: Academy of Arts, Berlin, GFR (West); No. 5: Bauhaus Archive, Berlin, GFR (West).

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"Untergang," *Die Aktion*, V, i/ii (January 2, 1915), 14-15.

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Jung, Franz—author.

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Die Eroberung der Maschinen: Roman. Die rote Roman-Serie, Vol. IX. Berlin: Der Malik-Verlag, 1923.

Das geistige Russland von heute. Wege zum Wissen, Vol. 25. Berlin: Verlag Ullstein, 1924.

Joe Frank illustriert die Welt. Literarische Aktions-Bibliothek. Berlin-Wilmersdorf: Verlag Die Aktion, 1921.

Die Kanaker; Wie lange noch? Zwei Schauspiele. Sammlung revolutionärer Bühnenwerke, Vol. II. Berlin-Halensee: Der Malik-Verlag, 1921.

Opferung: Ein Roman. Aktions-Bücher der Aeternisten, Vol. III. Berlin-Wilmersdorf: Verlag der Wochenschrift "Die Aktion," 1916.

Proletarier: Erzählung. Cover drawing by George Grosz. Berlin: Der Malik-Verlag, 1921. "The story . . . was written during the Autumn of 1920 in prison" (p. 4).

Die rote Woche: Roman. With nine drawings by George Grosz. *Die rote Roman-Serie*, Vol. III. Berlin: Der Malik-Verlag, 1922.

Der Sprung aus der Welt: Ein Roman. Aktions-Bücher der Aeternisten, Vol. VII. Berlin-Wilmersdorf: Verlag der Wochenschrift "Die Aktion," 1918.

Der Weg nach unten: Aufzeichnungen aus einer grossen Zeit. Neuwied am Rhein, Berlin-Spandau: Hermann Luchterhand Verlag GmbH, 1961. Autobiographical study.

Jung, Franz—editor, with Otto Gross and others.

Vorarbeit des Verlags Freie Strasse. Berlin-Wilmersdorf, 1915-1917.

Erste Folge der Vorarbeit, 1915: "Was suchst du Ruhe, da du zur Unruhe geboren bist?" ed. F. Jung.

Zweite Folge . . . ., 1915: "An Dich—Erde!" ed. Georg Schrimpf.

Dritte Folge . . ., 1916: "Dem Anderen in Dir," ed. Richard Oehring.

Vierte Folge . . ., 1916: "Um Weisheit und Leben," ed. Otto Gross, with F. Jung.

Fünfte Folge . . ., 1916: "Verantwortung—zu fremden Zwang," ed. Richard Oehring.

Sechste Folge . . ., 1917: "Die Technik des Glücks," ed. F. Jung.

[Siebente Folge, 1918]: "Club Dada: Prospekt des Verlags Freie Strasse," ed. R[aoul] Hausmann, R[ichard] Huelsenbeck, F[ranz] Jung. Berlin-Charlottenburg.

[Neunte und Zehnte Folgen], 1918: "Die freie Strasse" (newspaper format).

Ed. [Franz Jung (?) and Raoul Hausmann]. Berlin. According to Hausmann, *Courrier Dada,* p. 141, he edited both numbers alone: in light of Jung's revolutionary activities, this is very possible; Hausmann is certainly one editor, some of the unsigned articles having been published by him elsewhere; several articles are also by Baader, especially in No. 10, and Baader was closest with Hausmann.

Jung, Franz—subject.

Henel, Hans Otto, "Franz Jung," *Die Volks-Bühne,* No. 3 (March, 1926), no pagination. The copy seen in a private collection was either a reprint or a proof.

Pohl, Gerhard, "Schwarmgeist aus Schlesien: Zum Tode von Franz Jung," *Der Bogen,* V, Nos. 35/36 (April, 1963), no pagination. A typewritten copy of the article was seen in a private collection.

Mehring, Walter—author. Also see Bibliography, Section II, Storm Archive, p. 215-216.

"Antwort auf ein kommunistisches Verhör," *Das Tage-Buch,* XI, No. 36 (September 6, 1930), 1431-1434.

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The Lost Library: The Autobiography of a Culture, trans. R. and C. Winston. Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1951.

"Die neue Form," *Die neue Rundschau,* XXXI, i (January, 1920), 124-127.

Das neue Ketzerbrevier. Cologne-Berlin: Verlag Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1962. Excerpts from previously published works.

Das politische Cabaret: Chansons Songs Couplets. Drawings by the author. Dresden: Rudolf Kaemmerer Verlag, 1920.

Schall und Rauch: Einfach klassisch! Eine Orestie mit glücklichem Ausgang. With three illustrations of original Grosz-Heartfield puppets. Music by Friedrich Hollaender. Berlin: Adolph Furstner, 1919.

Verrufene Malerei: Von Malern, Kennern und Sammlern. With reproductions. Zurich: Diogenes Verlag, 1958.

Wedding-Montmartre in zehn Chansons. Berlin-Wilmersdorf: Alfred Richard Meyer Verlag, 1922.

"Wenn Ihr's nicht fühlt, ihr werdet nicht erjagen . . . (Vorspruch zur Blandine Ebinger Matinée)," *Die neue Schaubühne,* IV, iv (April, 1922), 108-109.

Mehring, Walter—editor and translator.

Pottier, [Eugène (Jean)], and [Jean-Baptiste] Clément. *Französische Revolutionslieder aus der Zeit der Pariser Commune. Malik-Bücherei,* Vol. 1. Berlin: Der Malik-Verlag, 1924.

Mehring, Walter—subject.

Hermann (-Neisse), Max, "Belangvolle Kabarett-Matinee," *Die neue Schaubühne,* IV, iv (April, 1922), 109-111.

Ortner, Eugen, "Vorwort," in R. A. Sievers, *Runter mit dem Zylinder! Ein politisches Cabaret-Programm.* Leipzig: L. Kannegiesser, 1924.

Richter, Hans—author.

Dada—Kunst und Antikunst: Der Beitrag Dadas zur Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts. With an afterword by Werner Haftmann. Cologne: M. DuMont Schauberg, 1964. Trans.: *Dada: Art and Anti-Art.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965 or 1966.

Richter, Hans—subject.

Akademie der Künste, Berlin. *Hans Richter: Ein Leben für Bild und Film.* Catalogue of an exhibit held from October 17 to November 16, 1958.

Galleria Schwarz, Milan. *Hans Richter: Dadaismo e Astrazione (1909-1923).* Catalogue of an exhibit held from March 10 to April 7, 1965. Includes an essay by Guido Ballo on H.R.

Sauermann, Alfred—author. No apparent connection with the Berlin Dadaists. These works go to the nonsense extreme.

Das Gewebe reisst oder die Mausefalle, das 1. e mit dem Graf nach links das 2. e mit dem Graf nach rechts: Dada-Tragödie. Berlin: Verlag Groteske Kunst, 1920. Inside cover: "Dedicated to Charles Darwin and my ball."

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(?) O Siris. *Was ist Dadaismus? oder der Versuch einfaches Eiweis darzustellen.* Berlin: Verlag groteske Kunst (Alfred Sauermann), 1919.

Schwitters, Kurt—author.

"About Me by Myself," *The Little Review,* XII, ii (May, 1929), 77-78.

Anna Blume: Dichtungen. Die Silbergäule, Vol. 39/40. Hannover: Paul Steegemann Verlag, 1919.

Anna Blume und Ich: Die gesammelten "Anna Blume"-Texte, ed. E. Schwitters. With photos, drawings, documents. Zurich: Verlag der Arche, 1965.

Elementar; Die Blume Anna—Die neue Anna Blume: Eine Gedichtsammlung aus den Jahren 1918-1922, Einbecker Polituransgabe. Berlin: Verlag der Sturm, [ca. 1922-1924 (?)].

"Hannovers erste Merz-Matinee," *Störtebeker*, No. 1 (1924), pp. 21-22.

Die Kathedrale. Die Silbergäule, Vol. 41/42. Hannover: Paul Steegemann Verlag, 1920.

Memoiren Anna Blumes in Bleie: Eine leichtfassliche Methode zur Erlernung des Wahnsinns für Jedermann. Freiburg (Baden): Walter Heinrich, 1922. Facsimile publication—Berlin: Verlag Petersen Press, 1963.

Tran Nr. 30: Auguste Bolte (ein Lebertran.). Berlin: Verlag Der Sturm, 1923—5th ed.

Schwitters, Kurt—co-author.

with Kate Steinitz and Th[eo] van Doesburg. *Die Scheuche Märchen.* Hannover: Apossverlag, 1925.

Schwitters, Kurt—subject.

Giedion-Welcker, C[arola], "Schwitters: or the Allusions of the Imagination," *Magazine of Art*, Vol. 41, No. 6 (October, 1948), 218-221.

Lord's Gallery, London. *Kurt Schwitters, 1887-1948.* Catalogue for an exhibit held from October through November, 1958.

Schacht, Roland, "Kurt Schwitters," *Freie deutsche Bühne*, I, No. 36 (Book II) (May 2, 1920), 845-847.

Steinitz, Kate T. *Kurt Schwitters: Erinnerungen aus den Jahren 1918-1930.* With photos, drawings, facsimiles. Zurich: Peter Schifferli Verlags AG Die Arche, 1963. An appreciation, uncritical.

Sturm-Bilderbücher IV: Kurt Schwitters. With a foreword by Otto Nebel. Berlin: Verlag Der Sturm, [1918].

Stuttgarter Antiquariat. Remarks on Schwitters' *Die Kathedrale. Antiquariatskatalog 41.* Stuttgart: Dr. Friedrich Kocher-Benzing & Co., December, 1965. P. 34, No. 789.

Serner, Walter—author.

"Die Flucht aus Berlin," *Störtebeker*, No. 3 (1924), pp. 58-63.

Letzte Lockerung: Manifest Dada. Die Silbergäule, Vol. 62-64. Hannover: Paul Steegemann Verlag, 1920.

Die Tigerin: Eine absonderliche Liebesgeschichte. Berlin: Elena Gottschalk Verlag, 1925. Written 1921 (p. 175).

Zum blauen Affen: Dreiunddreissig hahnebüchene Geschichten. Die Silbergäule, Vol. 91-98. Hannover: Paul Steegemann Verlag, 1921.

Spengemann, Christof—author.

Kunst / Künstler / Publikum: Fünf Kapiteln als Einführung in die heutige Kunst. Hannover: Der Zweemann Verlag, 1919.

Die Wahrheit über Anna Blume: Kritik der Kunst, Kritik der Kritik, Kritik der Zeit. Hannover: Der Zweemann / Verlag Robert Goldschmidt & Co., 1920.

Tzara, Tristan—author.

"Gedichte aus cinéma calendrir du coeur abstrait," *Die Bücherkiste,* II, v/vi (1920/21), 37.

Le Surréalisme et l'après-guerre. Paris: Les Éditions Nagel, 1948.

Vischer, Melchior—author.

Fussballspieler und Indianer: Fur die alte Welt eine Tragödie, für die neue Welt eine Komödie und umgekehrt in acht Aufzügen. Potsdam: Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag, 1924.

Sekunde durch Hirn: Ein unheimlich schnell rotierender Roman. Die Silbergäule, Vol. 59-61. Hannover: Paul Steegemann Verlag, 1920.

IV. The Bauhaus. See Bibliography, Section II: Bauhaus Archive, p. 213; Museum of Modern Art, p. 214; State Archive—Weimar, pp. 214-215. Starred items are concerned with the Bauhaus primarily after 1925, that is, in Dessau. Except for anthologies, if a choice had to be made between listing an item in the General or Individual category, the latter was chosen.

A. General

1. Documents from the Bauhaus

*Bauhaus, Dessau. *Grundsätze der Bauhaus-Produktion.* Dessau: Bauhaus, n.d. 2 pp., single sheet.

Staatliches Bauhaus, Weimar. "Ausstellung des Staatlichen Bauhauses Weimar—Eröffnung 15. August, Schluss 30. September 1923." Folded, printed card of the program for the Bauhaus Week and Exhibit.

____. "Die Bauhausbühne—Leitung: Lothar Schreyer; Erste Mitteilung, Dezember 1922." Includes short essays by Walter Gropius, "Die Arbeit der Bauhausbühne," and Lothar Schreyer, "Das Bühnenwerk."

____. "Kreis der Freunde des Bauhauses." [Weimar, 1924]. 4 pp. An appeal for aid.

____. *Nachtrag zu den Pressestimmen für das Stattliche Bauhaus Weimar (März-April 1924).* Brochure.

____. *Satzungen des Staatlichen Bauhaus zu Weimar.* (Ehemalige Grossherzoglich sächsische Hochschule für bildende Kunst und ehemalige Grossherzoglich

sächsische Kunstgewerbeschule in Vereinigung.) Weimar, 1921. Pamphlet.

——. *Satzungen*. Weimar, July, 1922. Brochure.

——. "Das Staatliche Bauhaus [und] die Ausstellung 1923." 2 pp. Advertisement.

——. *Staatliches Bauhaus, Weimar 1919-1923*. Weimar-Munich: Bauhausverlag, [1923]. Compiled primarily as an exhibit catalogue for the Summer Exhibit of 1923, the volume includes several essays, among others Walter Gropius, "Idee und Aufbau des Staatlichen Bauhauses," and Wassily Kandinsky, "Über die abstrakte Bühnensynthese," and profuse and excellent illustrations of all aspects of the Bauhaus.

——. *Der Streit um das Staatliche Bauhaus*. Weimar, April, 1920. Hectographed brochure.

Wingler, Hans M. *Das Bauhaus, 1919-1933. Weimar-Dessau-Berlin*. Bramsche: Verlag Gebr. Rasch & Co. and M. DuMont Schauberg, 1962. Primarily devoted to the publication of documents, highly selective, and extensive photographs of the work of the Bauhaus and the Bauhaus Masters; the author, who is the Director of the Bauhaus Archive in Berlin, has also written a short and pointed introduction to the Bauhaus. Also included are biographical sketches, an extensive bibliography including all Bauhaus publications, and lists of individuals who studied at the Bauhaus (not complete). A revised edition is presently under preparation, to include some expansion for the English translation, to be published shortly by the M.I.T. Press.

2. Periodicals

Der Austausch, Veröffentlichungen des Studierenden am Staatlichen Bauhaus zu Weimar. Three numbers, complete. Weimar, 1: May, 1919; 2: beginning of June, 1919; 3: July, 1919. No editor indicated.

*Bauhaus; subtitled added with II, i (1928): *Zeitschrift für Bau und Gestaltung;* changed with II, ii/iii (1928), *Zeitschrift für Gestaltung;* changed with III, i (January, 1929), *Vierteljahr-Zeitschrift für Gestaltung*. Irregular. I-III, four numbers per volume. I-II, i, ed. Walter Gropius and László Moholy-Nagy; II, ii/iii-III, ed. Hannes Meyer and Ernst Kallái. Not significantly used in this study.

* *Der Kunstnarr*. 1 number only. Dessau, April, 1929. Ed. Ernst Kallái.

3. Bauhaus–subject.

Adler, Bruno. *Das Weimarer Bauhaus. Vorträge zur Ideengeschichte des Bauhauses*, ed. Hans M. Wingler. Darmstadt: Bauhaus-Archiv [1965 (?)]. Pamphlet.

"Auflösung des Weimarer Bauhauses," *Baugewerkszeitung*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (January 8, 1925), 5.

"Das Bauhaus in Weimar bedroht!" *Junge Menschen*, (October 23, 1924), clipping in SG, SB No. 4, BD.

Bayer, Herbert, Walter Gropius, and Ise Gropius, eds. *Bauhaus, 1919-1928*.

Boston: Charles T. Branford Company, 1952.

Behne, Adolf, "Die Internationale Archiktektur-Ausstellung im Bauhaus zu Weimar," *Bauwelt*, XIV, No. 37 (September, 1923), 533.

——. "Das Musterwohnhaus der Bauhaus-Ausstellung," *Bauwelt*, XIV, No. 41 (October 11, 1923), 591-592.

——. "Bauhausresumee," *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, XXIX, ix (September 18, 1923), 542-545.

——. "Hoffmann, Taut, Gropius, Merz [Berlin, Magdeburg . . . . Stuttgart]," *Weltbühne*, XX, xvi (April 10, 1924), 471-473.

——. "Weimar," *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, XXVI (Book I), i (January 26, 1920), 69.

B[ogler], Th[eodor], and G[erhard Marcks], "Arbeiten des Staatl[ichen] Bauhauses Weimar/ Keramische Werkstatt Dornburg-Saale," *Keramos* (August, 1924), pp. 287-[289?].

Breuer, Robert, "Das Weimarer Bauhaus," *Die Glocke*, X, i (April 2, 1924), clipping in SG, SB No. 3, BD.

Doesburg, Theo van, "De Invloed van de Stijlbeweging in Duitschland," *Bouwkundig Weekblad*, Vol. 44, No. 7 (February 17, 1923), 80-83. Typewritten translation, SG, SB No. 3, BD: "Der Einfluss der Styl-Bewegung in Deutschland."

Dorner, A., ["Ueber das Programmatische, das Richtunggebende des Schaffens Walter Gropius' "], *Bauwelt*, XXI, xv (April 10, 1930), 478.

Eckardt, Wolf Von, "The Bauhaus," *Horizon*, IV, ii (November, 1961), 58-75. A fairly good, although melodramatic, introduction to the Bauhaus.

Ehmcke, F[ritz] H., "Das Bauhaus in Weimar" (Zeitspiegel, Beiblatt der "Zeit," Berlin, 3./4. Januar 1924), in *Persönliches und Sachliches: Gesammelte Aufsätze und Arbeiten aus fünfundzwanzig Jahren*. Berlin: Verlag Hermann Reckendorf GmbH, 1928. Pp. 72-81.

Emge, C. August. *Die Idee des Bauhauses: Kunst und Wirklichkeit*. Berlin: Pan-Verlag, Rolf Heise, 1924.

Erffa, Helmut von, "Bauhaus: First Phase," *The Architectural Review*, Vol. 122, No. 727 (August, 1957), 103-105.

Feininger, T. Lux, "The Bauhaus: Evolution of an Idea," *Criticism*, II, iii (Summer, 1960), 260-277.

*Gewerbemuseum, Basel. *Das Bauhaus Dessau*. Catalogue of an exhibit held from April 21 to May 20, 1929.

Giedion, Siegfried, "Bauhaus und Bauhauswoche zu Weimar," *Das Werk*, X, ix (September, 1923), 232-234.

——. "Zur Bauhausfrage," an essay written in Rome, November, 1923, and a

letter from I. Gantner of *Das Werk*, saying that the essay cannot be published (the letter was written in Zurich, December 7, 1923). Photocopy in BD.

Göppinger Galerie, Frankfurt. *Bauhaus: Idee-Form-Zweck-Zeit, Dokumente und Äusserungen.* Catalogue of an exhibit held from February 1 to March 14, 1964.

Haus der Kunst, Munich. *Die Maler am Bauhaus.* Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1950. Publication for an exhibit held during May and June, 1950.

Herfurth, Emil. *Weimar und das Staatliche Bauhaus.* Weimar: Hermann Bohlaus, 1920. Brochure.

Heuss, Theodor, "Phantasie und Baukunst," *Schauen und Schaffen* [aus *Kunstwart*], No. 8 (1919), pp. 122-125, clipping in SG, SB No. 1, BD.

Hoeber, Fritz, "Das neue Bauhaus in Weimar," *Die Rheinlande,* XXIX, v/vi (1919), 130.

Hübner, Herbert. *Die soziale Utopie des Bauhauses: Ein Beitrag zur Wissenssoziologie in der bildenden Kunst.* Inaugural-Dissertation; Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität zu Münster, 1963.

Joecks, (?), and Hans Haffenrichter, "Das staatliche Bauhaus in Weimar," *Vivos voco*, III, v/vi (November/December, 1922), 206-208.

Klopfer, Paul, "Die erste Bauhaus-Ausstellung in Weimar," *Kunstwart* [?], clipping in BD, uncatalogued.

Kultusministerium in Weimar. *Ergebnisse der das Staatliche Bauhaus in Weimar betreffenden Untersuchung.* Weimar, May 1920. Hectographed supplement to *Der Streit um das Staatliche Bauhaus.*

Landtagsverhandlungen [Thuringia] *1920—Stenographen-protokolle.* Protokoll der dreiundachtzigsten Sitzung. Weimar, Friday, July 9, 1920, esp. pp. 1875-1899. Also 76th Stenographenprotokoll from June 30, 1920, esp. pp. 1742-1752.

Landtag von Thüringen. 1923. Stenographische Berichte. 156th Session. Friday, March 16, 1923, pp. 4361-4401.

III. Landtag von Thüringen. 1924. II Abt[eilung]: Ausschussberichte. "80. fortgesetzter Bericht des Haushaltsausschusses zum Haushaltsplan von Thüringen 1923 und 1924. Weimar, 9. Dezember 1924—Kap. VII: Ministerium für Volksbildung. Titel 23. Kunstlehranstalten a) fur bildende Kunst: 1: Staatliches Bauhaus in Weimar," pp. 175-181.

III. Landtag von Thüringen. 1924/25. IV. Abt[eilung]: Stenographische Berichte. 91st Session. Weimar, Thursday, March 12, 1925, pp. 3057-3080 (incomplete in BD). 94th Session. Thursday, March 19, 1925, esp. pp. 3273-3291.

Lang, Lothar. *Das Bauhaus 1919-1933: Idee und Wirklichkeit. Studienreihe angewandte Kunst—Neuzeit,* Vol. 2. Berlin: Zentralinstitut für Formgestaltung, 1965. An interesting study somewhat marred by ideological bias.

Liese, W., "Das Einfamilienhaus des Staatlichen Bauhauses Weimar," *Gesundheits-Ingenieur,* Vol. 46, No. 49 (April 24, 1923), 469-470.

Meyer, (?), "Schön, neu und zweckmässig. Zur Bauhausausstellung in Weimar in August 1923," *Fachblatt für Holzarbeiter* (November/December, 1923), pp. 161-165.

*Mowrer, Lilian T., "Our Berlin Letter," *Town & Country,* May 15, 1928, pp..., 94, 98.

Müller, Arno (p. 47: "Für den Inhalt verantwortlich") [Hans Beyer, Josef Zachmann, and Carl Schlemmer]. *Das Staatliche Bauhaus Weimar und sein Leiter.* Weimar, April, 1924. Known as the "yellow brochure" *(gelbe Bröschure).* Polemic against the Bauhaus subsequently proven to have been written by former Bauhaus syndic, Hans Beyer, and two expelled students, Josef Zachmann and Carl Schlemmer.

Necker, W.F., "Bauhaus: '23-'24 [*sic*]," *The Architectural Review,* Vol. 124, No. 799 (September, 1963), 157-159. Reminiscences.

Nonn. (?), "Das Staatliche Bauhaus in Weimar," *Die Hilfe,* No. 11 (June 1, 1924), pp. 182-183.

P (?), "Auflösung des Weimarer Bauhauses?" *Bauwelt,* XV (?), x (March 6, 1924), clipping in SG, SB No. 3, BD.

——. "Das deutsche Bauhaus in Weimar," *Bauwelt,* XV (?), xi (March 13, 1924), clipping in SG, SB No. 3, BD.

Pazitnov, L., *Das schöpferische Erbe des Bauhauses, 1919-1933. Studienreihe angewandte Kunst—Neuzeit,* Vol. 1. Berlin: Institut für angewandte Kunst, 1963. ". . . A treatment of the Bauhaus from the Soviet viewpoint" (p. 5).

Praetorius, Emil, "Das Bauhaus in Weimar," *Neue Frauenkleidung und Frauenkultur,* No. 1 (1925), pp. 18-22, clipping in SG, SB No. 5, BD.

[Reisberger, Ludwig] Rrr., "Das Staatliche Bauhaus in Weimar," *Die Mappe,* XXXIX, vii (October, 1919), 25-28.

Rössger, Karl, "Das Bauhaus," *Neue Bahnen!,* XXXVI, ii (February, 1925), 52-62.

Roters, Eberhard. *Maler am Bauhaus. Die Kunst unserer Zeit,* Vol. 18. Berlin: Rembrandt Verlag, 1965.

Sandusky, L., "The Bauhaus Tradition and the New Typography," (1937?), Offprint brochure, BD.

Scheffauer, Hermann George, "Building the Master-Builder," *The Freeman* (New York City), December 5, 1923, pp. 304-305.

Schikowski, John, "Künstler und Handwerker," *Die neue Zeit,* XXXVIII, xviii (Book I) (January 30, 1920), 411-415.

Sieker, Hugo, "Um das Weimarer Bauhaus," *Junge Gemeinde,* No. 15 (April 10, 1924), clipping in SG, SB No. 3, BD.

"Das Staatliche Bauhaus in Weimar," *Die Tat,* (March, [1920]), clipping in SG, SB No. 1, BD.

*Staatliches Museum der neuen abendländischen Kunst–Allunionsgesellschaft kultureller Verbindung mit dem Ausland–woks. *Bauhaus Dessau, 1928-1930.* Catalogue for an exhibit held in 1931. Russian original with German translation in BD.

"Verlegung des Weimarer Bauhauses nach Dessau," *Baugewerkszeitung,* Vol. 57, No. 13 (April 2, 1925), 225-226.

Westheim, Paul, "Archiktektur-Entwicklung," *Die Glocke,* X, vi (May 7, 1924), 181-185.

Zigrosser, Carl, "Anticipations," *The Freeman* (New York), July 7, 1920, pp. 399-401.

B. Individuals.

Breuer, Marcel–author.

"Die Möbelabteilung des staatlichen Bauhauses zu Weimar," *Fachblatt für Holzarbeiter,* XX, ii (February, 1925), 17-19. To this article is attached an afterword by the editor dealing with the quarrel raging about the Bauhaus and its goals, pp. 19-20.

Sun and Shadow: The Philosophy of an Architect, ed. P. Blake. London-New York-Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1955. Well done architectural-philosophical work.

Breuer, Marcel–subject.

Argan, Giulio Carlo. *Marcel Breuer: Disegno industriale e architettura.* English trans. by M. Langley. Milan: Gorlich editore, 1957.

Citroen, Paul–author.

Introvertissimento. 'S Gravenhage: L.J.C. Boucher, 1956. Reminiscences.

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